Ego vox clamantis in deserto: The Lyricization of Human Authority in 13th-Century French dits

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0.1 Acknowledgments

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0.2 Dedication

Ridebis, et licet rideas. Ego, ille quem nosti, apros tres et quidem pulcherrimos cepi. "Ipse?" inquis. Ipse - non tamen ut omnino ab inertia mea et quiete discederem.

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Introduction

> *"Excuse me, but I cannot believe you," said Woland, "this cannot be. Manuscripts do not burn." He turned to Behemoth and said, "Come on, Behemoth, give us the novel."*
>
> *The cat instantly lept to his feet from the chair, and everyone saw that he had been sitting on a thick pile of manuscripts. With a bow, the cat gave the top exemplar to Woland. Margarita began to shake and cried out, moved to tears once again, "There it is, the manuscript! There it is!"*[1]

Thus Woland, Mikhail Bulgakov's famous demonic character in Master and Margarita, reacts to a despondent writer who destroyed the sole copy of his own novel in a household oven in the wake of threats to his professional career. Working with the memories of severe state-organized repression in the Soviet Union of the 1930s, Bulgakov may have understood in Woland's words an aphorism on the perseverance of artistic expression in adverse circumstances. Despite censorship - even what some consider to be the ultimate cultural sin, the *damnatio memoriae* of book burning - truly unique pieces of literature with which a wide public can associate their own experience endure. In fact, the notoriety of so many authors in the USSR who wrote material critical of the Party in the face of sanctions and imprisonment - Mikhail Bulgakov, Boris Pasternak, and Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn to name a few - seems to testify to an artistic law that would guarantee the existence of any work that accomplishes this feat.

[1] Mikhail Bulgakov, *Master i Margarita* (Moscow: Eksmo, 2013), 300. My translation.

Yet I cannot help but smile at the thought of a medievalist showing the same kind of euphoric reaction as Margarita if such an opportunity were offered, for the manuscripts that cannot be burnt by society risk being burnt by time. The necessity of (somewhat narrowly) perceiving medieval texts through the lens of surviving manuscripts has had varying effects over the preceding two centuries, ranging from their reception as purely artistic objects (and resulting in wanton destruction of sheets in the search of archetypical decorated initials), as raw sources to be used for comparative study and lemmatic organization, and vessels of transmission that shaped and controlled an *a priori* interpretation of the texts they contained. During the past three decades, this final approach to manuscript study has, under the influence of more recent "cognitive" methodologies, yielded an immense impact on medieval literary studies by moving it away from the anachronistic philological practices that dominated the 19th and early 20th centuries. In such a way the manuscript has retained its position as a critical object of study in the field, whereas the task of the textual and literary critic have been brought so close together that serious medieval literary criticism entails manuscript consultation. The role of the scholar consulting the bound text has been greatly expanded beyond provenance description and textual editing.

These trends, which have inspired much of my methodology in this thesis, together represent an evolution that, I believe, can be best demonstrated by the growth of the "New Philology" during the end of the 1980s and its development through the following decade. Emerging from the need for a theoretical basis to transpose texts from a manuscript culture onto one that privileges printed, and thus definitive, editions, 19th century philological practices provided a framework for a positivist, seemingly-scientific process of describing and editing texts. As R. Howard Bloch stated in the 1990 volume of *Speculum* devoted to the question of New Philology,

> The medievalists of the 'interlude,' which coincided with the era of literary naturalism or realism in France, sought to expunge from literature that which escaped the scientism of positivist methodology, or,

to be more specific, that which was seen to be specifically poetic.[2]

In other words, an academic dedication to elucidating the grammatical, syntactical, and signifying properties of extinct languages resulted in practices that ignored the possibility of equivocal passages and emphasized the immediate accessibility of medieval compositions.

While the earliest texts that began pushing the field of manuscript study towards cognitive and discursive trends in literary criticism appeared in the 1960s and 1970s,[3] the end of the 1980s marked a turning point of reinstating the text within the "radical contingencies" of the manuscript matrix that determined its interpretation.[4] There is not, in this view, a single "sense" in a text, but interacting layers of literary perceptions and interpretations laid down by various agents onto a manuscript, which passed texts among the writer, the scribe, the compiler, and the reader. As Bernard Cerquiglini typified this point of view, "Or, l'écriture médiévale ne produit pas de variantes, elle est variance."[5] In such a way, philologists studying medieval texts have absorbed the post-structuralist and "cognitive" practices that came out of contemporary literary theory: however, in my view, this shift appears to be from a sort of collision with reception theory. As Bloch stated, New Philology seeks to reinstate the unbounded interpretative meaning expressed by mysterium in poetry by "contextualizing . . . literature both with respect to historical process and with respect to other discourses."[6] The attitude of the "new" philologist seeks to reconstitute the relations between various agents within a manuscript culture, not to simply gloss the meaning of an individual word or grammatical structure, but to explore how language's pragmatic functions can be formed, assured, and undermined throughout

[2]R. Howard Block, "New Philology and Old French," *Speculum* 65.1 (1990): 42.

[3]In particular, Paul Zumthor's *Langue et techniques poétiques à l'époque romane* (1963) and *Essai de poétique médiévale* (1972).

[4]Nichols defines these as contingencies "of chronology, of anachronism, of conflicting subjects, of representation," see Stephen G. Nichols, "Introduction: Philology in a Manuscript Culture," *Speculum* 65.1 (1990): 9. A text usually cited as marking the new attitude towards philology is Bernard Cerquiglini's *Éloge de la variante* (1989).

[5]Bernard Cerquiglini, *Éloge de la variante: Histoire critique de la philologie* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1989), 111.

[6]Bloch, "New Philology," 39.

the process of transmission.

With regards to my work, I do not claim to offer any kind of erudite study that matches the linguistic research demonstrated by philologists.[7] Yet I view that the roots of my overarching methodological approaches can be found in the same discussions that sought to demarcate the beginnings of, and essentially define, the period of New Philology. It is this inspiration that links Chapter 1, revolving around Latinate commentary practices, with Chapters 2 and 3, which respectively treat authoritative expression in the surviving works of Rutebeuf and Adam de la Halle. The basic question that I began with consisted of, "What allowed a vernacular writer to express himself for the very sake of speaking - of recounting his own life - and how was this expression filtered by a manuscript culture?" As I explore in my work on Old French poetry, much contemporary scholarship places a threshold on vernacular subjective expression somewhere in the late 13th century - if not entirely in the 14th century, when "authoritative" manuscripts organized by the writer and accompanying author portraits supposedly sprang into existence. My approach hits directly on this notion of the sudden appearance of the vernacular author, of an expressive subject-position that "sprang into existence" for Old French medievalists after Guillaume de Lorris' and Jean de Meun's *Roman de la Rose*. Outside of a framework that would imply a sort of evolution or development towards 14th-century literary practices, where can earlier 13th-century writers be placed in the context of vernacular self-expression?

In the first chapter, I consider the research that has covered Latinate commentary formats and their writers' discussion of the author since Alistair Minnis' 1984 monograph, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*. As Rutebeuf and Adam de la Halle are associated with a clerkly milieu - the former more certain than the latter - contemporary attitudes towards Latinate authorities were most likely immediately available to them. Outside of such speculation - did they actually read any manuscripts with these kinds of commentaries? - my later chapters allow the question of whether internal literary evidence within the poets' work attest to indirect contact with Latinate

[7]Bloch, for example, provides several pages dissecting the relationship between *lais, lait, laid, lié,* and *lax*, cf. Bloch, "New Philology," 47. I do, however, problematize the relationship between *oïr, c(h)anter,* and *dire* in chapter 2.

concepts of authorial functions. By involving the writers' literary culture beyond speculations on the makeup of their vernacular audience, I additionally expand my consideration for the marks of (re-)interpretation that medieval scribes left in the process of textual reception.. The role of the author of a text not only underwent a diachronic transformation between the 12th and 13th centuries - from where does the authority to speak emanate? - but it operated within a matrix of hermeneutics, ethical discourse, and the the expressive possibilities of particular poetic forms.

In chapters 2 and 3, I apply the discursive functions identified as critical to triangulating the expression of authority to vernacular poetic composition. For both Rutebeuf and Adam de la Halle, I instate a general division between the writer's self-expression and the varying receptions of his work by transmitters. For Rutebeuf, this latter category includes modern editors as well as scribes in order to demonstrate the continued relevance of analyzing the ideological assumptions behind forms of reception and transmission. To demonstrate once again a connection of my approach with the currents of New Philology, "...any surviving text expresses less a single authorial intention than that of various 'social forces.'"[8] I begin by assessing how the field of medieval literary criticism has come to treat Rutebeuf (as well as other 13th-century poets) in the past twenty years - how is the poet viewed as an expressive subject, in what ways was the writer allowed to manipulate conceptions of his writings as authoritative? Certainly this requires a consideration of audiences: following my analysis of his auto-portrayal, I afford a large amount of attention to the various ways in which medieval scribes appropriated his work - and thus reflected their own preconceptions on authority - both immediately after his lifetime as well as near the traditional medieval frontier with the Renaissance. Precisely identifying how his literary *persona* was perceived, however, requires speculation on his greater audience - was he mainly writing for the illiterate vernacular public, or did he intend for his works to be circulated principally in written form? On one hand this is an extremely difficult task: unlike Jean Gerson, no reflections have survived from Rutebeuf that treat his self-conception verbatim. That would consist of, however, looking for a text *sans couverture*, without literary integument. With regards to evidence internal to

[8]Siegfried Wenzel, "Reflections on New Philology," *Speculum* 65.1 (1990): 14.

his works, Rutebeuf most likely considered both the performative and the literate as modes of transmission for his work: the texts that conserve the *Miracle de Théophile*, as well as the nature of its composition, imply the existence of an audience watching a scene played out in front of them, whereas the *Dit d'Aristote* explicitly mentions manuscript transmission.

Much of this question of audience, which is equally important for Adam de la Halle's manipulation of authority, hinges on the use of "orality" and "literacy" by modern scholars. Suzanne Fleischman placed a great deal of emphasis on the "oral residue" in medieval culture, "It is now commonly accepted that the European Middle Ages were 'oral', insofar as writing was dictated and reading was carried out viva voce."[9] Yet the supposedly evident sense of this kind of vocabulary - "oral culture" - has been challenged since that issue of *Speculum*, which is especially evident in Joyce Coleman's *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France*, published six years later. She rightly problematizes the concept of "oral residue" by organizing various studies from classical literature to contemporary criticism that makes use of this concept - in the end, at what point does society transition into a literate culture? Instead, by using the strength of her theory of a culture of "aurality," it is possible to contextualize Rutebeuf's writings within a vast field of receptions and use-values. To this end, the varying manners in which scribes took up his works - in pieces or in whole - as well as the (somewhat artificial) strata of audiences consisting of literate and illiterate layman as well as clerks can be understood to participate within a larger culture, rather than through an unwieldy attempt to portray interactions between an archaic, leftover "oral" culture that only heard his works and a literate group that only read them.

My final chapter, in which I look at the work of Adam de la Halle, is comparatively shorter, amounting to approximately half the length of chapter 2. A considerable portion of this is due to my consideration of a greater number of manuscripts in chapter 2 as well as to an in-depth introduction of my methodology and the current state of the field. My principal contribution with Adam de la Halle is the examination

[9]Suzanne Fleischman, "Philology, Linguistics, and Discourse of the Medieval Text," *Speculum* 65.1 (1990): 21.

of self-expression in song, in particular how the voice of the original writer permeates transmission through the performers and equally undermines the lyrical development of another lyrical subject. My reading of a pre-eminent voice for Adam is related to the functioning of allegorical expression within his work, to which I apply an analysis that dodges contemporary polemics around the relationship between signs and signifiers, symbols and allegories, and instead takes a hermeneutic approach that considers the narrative implications of the presence of allegorical figuration. I additionally consider a scribe's decision to cut short the *Jeux de la Feuilée* and transform it into a poetic composition closer in form and subject to the *dit*. This move almost seems to put into practice the theoretical basis for Adam's voice that I posit in his monophonic works, and hints at the wide range of forms in which vernacular song could be cast.

Thus, in this thesis, the manuscript culture that shaped and transmitted the texts I examine is raised to a principal discursive element for identifying how authority functioned. It is this approach that links the Latin commentaries from chapter 1 to Rutebeuf's dits and Adam's *chansons*, which may otherwise appear to be a disparate grouping of unrelated audiences and reading practices. In a way, my search for authoritative elements within these texts follows in the vein of returning the *mysterium* to medieval poetry: the writers are elusive, not only by the distance that separates their period from modernity, but in the ways that they took up lyrical subject positions that simultaneously gave reason for their speech. This is a work that could not have been accomplished by recourse to modern editions - I have been able to profit from modern methodologies that mark, as Nichols wrote, "a post-modern return to the origins of medieval studies."[10] It is not only through a theoretical basis that these approaches attempt to renovate older interpretation of the medieval text - just like 19th-century editors, I too have examined the texts in a manuscript in their original order as well as rearranged and juxtaposed. The fundamental difference is that modern developments in the digital humanities allow for a robust comparative study that gives the researcher a larger view of the movement of a text from writer to audience, in its many permutations and versions by copyists and compilers, without the

[10]Nichols, "Philology in a Manuscript Culture," 8.

destructive consequences and ideological goals in the work of earlier philologists.[11] Like Bulgakov's cat Behemoth, modern medievalists have become empowered, reaching our hands into a pile of manuscripts and pulling out, with greater facility albeit continued hours of study, the pieces that bring meaning to disorder.

[11] Another wonderful example of this is the Online Froissart project started by Peter Ainsworth at the University of Sheffield and Godfried Croenen at the University of Liverpool. This project goes beyond the digitized manuscripts I used for closer comparative study: and XML database allows the researcher to search the text of the manuscript, find similar passages, and view them side-by-side. "The Online Froissart." http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/onlinefroissart/index.jsp.

Chapter 1

Reading the *dit*

> VIII. jours aprés la Nacion
> Celui qui soffri passion
> En l'an sexante
> Qu'abres ne fuelle oizel ne chante
> Fis je toute la riens dolante
> Qui de cuer m'aimme.[1]

In the first lines of his lament on the grief caused by an ill-advised marriage, the 13th century poet Rutebeuf assures his audience of the veracity of the following tale. Such frank, abject sincerity on suffering and personal experience on the part of a vernacular author, whose narrative guise lures the reader to conflate the roles of writer, narrator, and speaker, has been the subject of much attention in medieval critical theory.[2] For it is not only a question of vernacular poetic modes escaping

[1] "Eight days after the nativity / of the one who suffered his Passion / in the year [12]60 / With leafless trees, silent birds / I made suffer the one person / who loves me deeply." Rutebeuf, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Michel Zink (Paris: Bordas, 2005), 268 vv. 2-7. There is a small debate around the translation of "tote la riens": in old French lyrical poetry, *la riens*, the object (of the text) generally refers to the writer's or singer's lady. However, I've gone with Zink's argument that the dual subject/object ambiguity may be a game, and that the only person who truly loves the narrator is himself, see Rutebeuf, *Œuvres complètes*, 268 note 1.

[2] Particularly significant are Michel Zink, *Les Voix de la conscience: parole du poète et parole de Dieu dans la littérature médiévale* (Caen: Paradigme, 1992) as well as Zink's Introduction and analysis of Rutebeuf's personal poetry in Rutebeuf, *Œuvres complètes*, ed. Michel Zink (Paris: LGF,

from literary forms imposed by the privileged and erudite Latin tradition, groups of circulating verse mediating voice and knowledge in a revolutionary way. The composition and very structure of the dit seem to be at a considerable distance from other nearly-synchronic Romance literary forms, such as the *vidas* and *razos* that come to accompany troubadour lyric as well as the celebrated Old French romans.

To understand the appearance of the dits as a singular and critical event in 13th-century literary subjectivity is to return to a larger, and inevitably cumbersome, question in medieval studies: of what use is the poet? In a literary culture that instructed the individual to orient all contemplation toward God, the act of reading a text ungrounded in religious themes and focused on this ephemeral seculum is a paradox. As evidenced by a longstanding debate going back to the Fathers of the Church, medieval writers - and not just modern readers - were aware of the need to resolve this ideological conflict.

For authorities such as Saints Augustine and Jerome, the debate was a part of a larger and more critical undertaking, one which required the establishment of a Christian education and thus a firm set of authorized hermeneutical practices. Certainly the mastery of Latin was necessary, but the art of proper reading was paramount: "It is only the art of the Scriptures that every one, here and there, claims for themselves."[3] Saint Jerome, while showing disdain for those who move immediately from a profane education to an interpretation of Scripture without any formal guidance in Christian exegesis, nonetheless admired the dexterity and intelligence that the reading of pagan texts cultivated.[4] This same motif is continued through later medieval literature: Dante's lovers Francesca and Paolo from Inferno foolishly end their study

2001). Olivia Holmes has written a book that moves across genres and languages from the 12th to 14th century in order to look at the construction of the subjective self. She provides a fascinating combination of lyrical analysis and a projection of the author onto the codicological features that govern the presentation of his own work, see Olivia Holmes, *Assembling the Lyric Self: Authorship from Troubadour Song to Italian Poetry Book* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

[3]"Sola scripturarum ars est, quam sibi omnes passim uindicent." Saint Jerome, *Letters Volume III*, ed. J. Labourt (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1953), 15. Translations mine unless otherwise noted.

[4]Saint Jerome, *Letters*, 14. Zink refers to Jerome's deference to the superiority of the Bible, but "une supériorité qui ne peut se faire jour qu'au regard de ce parangon de perfection intellectuelle qu'est la poésie antique." Michel Zink, *Poésie et conversion au Moyen Âge* (Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 2003), 10.

of the affair between Lancelot and Guinevere prematurely and so doing commit the same adulterous errors. Bad reading practices can lead to dangerous results.[5]

Saint Augustine's writings on the constructive role of poetic study provide lessons that are more easily transposed into discussions on medieval vernacular writers who privilege Christian themes. The obscurity and ambiguity of Scripture serves as an edifying tool, to give pleasure to the reader through the quest of searching for meaning.[6] To read a text is to not only take out the immediate lesson offered - be it medical, ethical, or any array of themes - but it forms an illuminating, reflective exercise for the eventual goal of approaching the veiled and ultimately superior contents of Scripture. Other texts besides those intrinsically concerned with Scripture deserve to be consulted, however - *De Civitate Dei* provides a clear example of "good" uses of pagan writings, as Saint Augustine presents Platonic thought as a refined tool of robust, logical argument.[7]

But the questions of "why the poet?" and "why write?" in the face of the insurmountable superiority posed by Scripture in medieval thought does not provide the best field of inquiry in understanding the functioning of the dit in its native literary culture. On one hand, works labeled as "dit" do not regularly present themselves through internal narrative as an exercise in either spiritual enlightenment or philosophy, be it morals or ethics. This line of questioning also inescapably treads close to inquiry on motivation - why did the poet write this, how does it reflect his life, what is and is not true - which I consider a dangerous precipice that is difficult to recoil from. Thus the treatment afforded to Rutebeuf and others such as Adam de la Halle - especially in critical editions - as writers that presaged a birth of a French literary canon as well as the 19th century image of the romantic writer.

[5]Kevin Brownlee, Tony Hunt, Ian Johnson, Alastair Minnis and Nigel F. Palmer, "Vernacular literary conciousness c. 1100-c.1500 : French, German, and English Evidence," *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 435.

[6]"Nunc tamen nemo ambigit et per similitudines libentius quaeque cognosci et cum aliqua difficultate quaesita multo gratius inveniri . . . autem languor cauendus est." Saint Augustine, *De Doctrina Christiana* (Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes, 1997), 144.

[7]*De Civitate Dei* Book VIII, Chapter V, "No one has come closer to us [of the Christian faith] than the Platonists."

The most intriguing studies that treat authorial representations in vernacular works concentrate on the constant game of persona between the identified writer and the supposed writer-narrator. Paul Zumthor noted a disparity between the notion of subjectivity in troubadour lyrics as compared to the writer of the dit, writing that the discursive properties of song prevent the writer from transposing himself onto the "I" (the *je*) present in the lyric.[8] The very material circulation of the dit, however, along with its spoken quality imbued the text with an authorial self-identification. Michel Zink has gone as far as to claim that poetry "absorbed" the sung lyric, an antiquated form that possessed an "I" out of grammatical necessity.[9] More recent work has nonetheless combined manuscript research with discursive analysis to find evidence that listeners - or at the very least scribes - understood the enunciator of sung lyric to be the troubadour himself.[10] This has problematized the otherwise linear progression model that had been built up to illustrate a smooth transition from song to text.

It is critical to view the dit as but one literary form circulating in a wider system that had multiple ways of receiving, organizing, and describing texts. To compare the dit with troubadour lyric does indeed reveal striking differences, but it is not simply the case of a linear movement from sung lyric to written word taking place in a cultural vacuum.[11] It is without a doubt that contemporary and near-contemporary literary forms in the vernacular would have influenced the writer of the dit, who would have most likely been influenced, or at least familiar with, the mode of writing presented in the chansons as well as the popular romances. However, many writers of the dits were either university-educated clerks or at the very least associated with a university education,[12] which would have necessitated a firm grounding in the

[8]Paul Zumthor, *Langue, texte, énigme* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1975), 170-174.

[9]Michel Zink, *La Subjectivité littéraire* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de Paris, 1985), 46-50.

[10]See the introduciton from Sarah Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990).

[11]As Olivia Holmes has rightly highlighted, it is in "backward looking" manuscripts that 12th century troubadour lyric was preserved by 13th-century scribes. See the introduction from Olivia Holmes, *Assembling the Lyric Self: Authorship from Troubadour Song to Italian Poetry Book* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000).

[12]Unlike the vidas and razos which, while mostly composed by later scribes, provide an explicit biographical foundation to the songs, there is a marked lack of a homologous commentary structure

regimented and complex system of Latin exegetical practices.

Since the appearance of Alastair Minnis' *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, a growing field of research around reconstituted "medieval literary theory" has devoted efforts toward filtering the reception of texts through methodology and vocabulary inherited from manuscripts themselves. Minnis initially concentrated on the Latin *accessus ad auctores*, the introductory pieces that provided a summarized and authorized presentation of texts as well as a prescribed framework for interpretation. He was able to show that, by the 12th century, a new paradigm in prologue organization seems to have taken precedence, marking a transition from a framework that concentrated on the literary form and intrinsic value of a work (R. W. Hunt's "Type B" prologue) to one more flexible in evaluating the content and usefulness of a given text (Hunt's "Type C").[13] The kind of vocabulary found in the Type B headings were specifically suitable for basic literary discussions, focusing on the life of the poet (*vita poetae*), the property of the verse (*qualitas carminis*), the intention of the author (*intention auctoris*), and a final series of exposition (*explanatio*). The new Type C prologue proved itself more flexible in adapting literature for the usefulness of its content, and ultimately, the valorisation of the author's role in mediating knowledge. The largest impact was the adoption of the question "To which area of philosophy does the work pertain?" (*cui parti philosophiae supponitur*), allowing commentators to increase the value of secular works by situating them within a familiar organization of knowledge for the period. Such a move made the comment "it pertains to ethics" (*ethice supponitur*) possible in a range of texts, from grammar to the large majority of non-religious poetry. This organizational structure for poetry would have far-reaching effects outside of simply profane, classical verse.

These Type C prologues were not indefinitely confined to poetic "analysis" in secular works. During the 12th century, there seems to have been a growing readiness to overlap grammatical and theological exegetical practices without significant hesitation. For the grammar schools, the development of a Christian grammar entailed

around the dits. Thus, information on the writers is gleaned from internal analysis.

[13] *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism*, ed. A.J. Minnis and A.B. Sott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), 12-3.

what Vincent Gillespie has called "a hermeneutics of cultural engagement."[14] The intensive process of "learning to read" not only involved the linguistic theory behind parsing language into units and literature into styles and tropes,[15] it also resituated these concepts on top of a foundation that imparted a constant awareness of Christian semiotics. Many grammar schools possessed commentaries on liturgical texts, with a vocabulary and form borrowed from the *accesus* found in secular manuscripts, which they used to initiate pupils in Christian reading. This use of prologue formats, originally adapted by logical argument for the exposition of secular texts, afforded students a rather uncontroversial introduction to moral and spiritual exegesis. In such a way, secular linguistic analysis - contributing to training in *latinitas* - could be combined with already-established categories of literary practices. For a liturgical poem, the categories were clear for the student: the *materia* was the Church, the writer's *modus agendi* was whatever stylistic techniques that praised God, and the *intentio* cultivated reflection on the nature of the divine.[16] Even though this example lacks the nuances of the type C Prologue, ethics were evidently already a field of philosophy that allowed a wider discourse on the affective nature of poetry to be discussed. A clearer understanding of the reception of poetry in the 13th century can begin to emerge. These are nevertheless examples of rather unproblematic adaptations of secular analysis to works unattached to the weight of an *auctor*. How could exchanges between secular and ecclesiastical commentary standards mutually influence the functioning of *auctoritas*? Was the auctor to remain inaccessible, a long-since vanished source of knowledge with no bridge to contemporary scholars?

[14]Vincent Gillespie, "From the Twelfth Century to c. 1450," *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, Vol 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 151.

[15]It must be noted that a debate between supporters of "speculative grammar," that is to say a field which confined iself to language treated as its own *sermocinalis sciencia*, and those of the classically-inherited system of *ars grammatica*, which also included the study of *recte scribendi et loquendi* was taking place in the 12th and 13th centuries. A breakdown, or rather reassessment, of such a fundamental grouping in the hierarchy of the *artes* deserves a place in the discussion of shifts in authorized means of reading; unfortunately there is not enough space to include an overview of this fascinating change that once more testifies to the liveliness and non-static nature of later medieval thought. For more, see Martine Irvine and David Thomson, "Grammatica and Literary Theory," *The Cambridge History of Literary Criticism*, Vol 2.

[16]Vincent Gillespie, "From the Twelfth Century to c. 1450," 152.

In this matter, a marked shift in accessus organization is noted in the early 13th century, coinciding with the influence of Aristotelian epistemology, mediated through the Latin translation of Averroes' commentaries. Certainly, the Type C prologue not only enshrined then current scholastic hierarchies of knowledge (*cui parti philosophie*), but represented an innovation in stylistic analysis, through the method of treatment of its subject matter (*modus*) as well as its ultimate usefulness (*utilitas*). Texts such as Ovid's *Heroides*, which would have otherwise been studied for roles that were purely grammatical in nature, could be filtered through an allegorical mechanism for Christian utilitas.[17] However, unlike the ease with which the Type C prologue was adapted for liturgical texts with less authoritative weight, applying this format to the Bible and other religious writings emanating from a venerated auctor proved challenging. This obstacle is primarily due to the source of the auctor's writing, whose pen was a tool for giving shape to the learning that flowed from the ultimate creator of all knowledge. God's esoteric maniupulation of signification was considered outside of linguistic description and ultimately human understanding according to Augustine,[18] whereas logic was the art of human intellect.

The conflict between the application of logical analysis to sacred texts and the requirement of providing a sufficient amount of exegesis for their presentation arises due to the place of the Bible in medieval thought in relation to the pedagogical hierarchy. Logic provided the means to construct arguments and was thus necessary for sound analysis. In the 12th century, William of Champeaux provided a fairly uncontroversial definition for logic that remains pertinent even with later medieval reassessments of hierarchies of knowledge, which is that logic is the science of discourse, whose task it is to find (*inventio*) and judge (*iudicium*) discourse as to its

[17]A rather succinct demonstration of this can be found in an accesus from a late-12th century or early 13th century Munich manuscript as quoted by Minnis and Scott, taken from a larger edition published earlier by R.B.C. Huygues. On their utilitas, the Epistles teach us of "lawful love and the disasters or disadvantages wich result from unlawful and foolish love, [so that] we may reject and hun foolish love and adhere to lawful love." And which approved area of philosophy does it belong to? "It pertains to ethics, since it teaches us about lawful love." *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism*, ed. A.J. Minnis and A.B. Sott (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988) 23. I will return later in this section to poetry's usefulness in teaching us at the same time what to reject and what to embrace.

[18]As quoted in *De Trinitate* L. 15 C. 10-11.

truth value.[19] Commentary methodology could thus be grouped within this field, as it was related in technique to the dialectic by distinguishing truth from falsehood through explicit argument on the truth and meaning of a given text.

The word of God incarnate in Scripture, however, was above the creation of human intellect and therefore inaccessible to the human arts. Naturally this unbridgeable distance did not prohibit discussions of the nature of divinity. As Ellen Sweeney has observed, Abelard at times displaces reflections on the nature of God onto analogues grounded in ordinary, every day language and objects, and thus "saves the language of the trinity, but leaves the metaphysics behind."[20] In these cases he seems to be taking a lesson directly from the Gospel of John by making the Word flesh. On the other hand, the Bible could also be taken up in the framework of a poetic and rhetorical analysis. Bonaventure's defense of Scripture's resilience to logical analysis and the strength of its message lies in its composition. For him, scripture is written to emotionally influence the reader rather than convince him through rational argument, and it exploited every rhetorical technique possible for this end.[21] But Bonaventure's observation brings up a disconcerting mismatch concerning the relationship of logic to rhetoric: rhetorical training is a part of standard linguistic theory which must be mastered before moving onto the study of logic. Should the hierarchy be reversed if the power of the Bible comes from the lower art? When considering the tools necessary to expound the sense of Scripture, the relationship between rhetoric and poetry on one hand and logic and grammar on the other seems

[19]However, he did provide a more radical organization of the studies grouped in with logic by the analysis of voces, thus allowing him to bring rhetoric under the umbrella of logic! This could have had far-reaching consequences for the study of the Bible in commentaires were it to have been reflective of a wider consensus. See, Mews, "Logica in the Service of Philosophy: William of Champeaux and His Influence," *Schrift, Schreiber, Schenker: Studien zur Abtei Sankt Viktor in Paris und den Viktorinern*, Corpus Victorinum, Instrumenta I, ed. Rainer Berndt (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2005), 82-3.

[20]Although there have been objections to her juxtaposition of Boethius and Alan of Lille with Abelard, this succinct observation of Abelard's insistence that the nature of God could be explored in ways that previous theologians have stopped remains pertinent. Eileen C. Sweeney, *Logic, Theology, and Poetry in Boethius, Abelard, and Alan of Lille* (New York : Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 91-95.

[21]Minnis, "The Trouble with Theology," *Author, Reader, Book* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 27.

troubling.

Scholastic thinking seems to have allowed these two arts to remain separately ordered without coming into serious conflict. In order to work around this, theological commentators took up the *modus tractandi* as the well as the four Aristotelian *causae* in order to focus on a different object: the human auctor. God, of course, is the principal auctor of all creation and the source of all auctoritas in the Bible. Before commentators adapted the Aristotelian causae into a functioning analytical method for their work, the study of Biblical auctores seems to have been quite close to the classical view of an auctor principally as a source of epistemological auctoritas in relation to his text. As Minnis has observed, 12th century commentaries focus on the auctor as a tool through which the divine word reached man, whereby "The notion of the auctor as an agent engaged in literary activity was submerged."[22] A two-fold shift in exegetical practices during the 13th and 14th centuries allowed for a more accessible use of Scripture by the logical arts. St. Thomas Aquinas made use of Augustine's claim that only the literal sense of Scripture may be used to form arguments - in this case, argument to be understood as the dialectic form taught for proceeding from question to resolution.[23] As the commentator employed logical argument when introducing a work using the language of a prologue,[24] claims such as St. Thomas' seem to authorize the stripping of the literal sense - in contemporary

[22]A.J. Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship* (London: Scolar Press, 1984), 72.

[23]As Minnis bluntly observes in his footnote, "St. Thomas was not always consistent." It matters very little for my use of this information whether Saint Thomas agreed personally or professionally with this statement - the important factor is that he was able to make it. See *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 248 note 7.

[24]A good example of this can be found in the introuction to Ovid's *Epistles* in R.B.C. Huygens, *Accessus ad auctores* (Berchem-Bruxellels: Latomus, 1954), where the commentator assigns the *intentio auctoris* : "His intention is to write about three kinds of love : foolish love, unchaste love, and demented love." This is followed by examples taken from the text for each category, as well as a listing of other intepretations of the Ovid's intention. While the commentator initially considers Ovid's rhetorical style, the veil of his meaning is lifted through analysis: all interpretations are resolved as part of one "general" and one "particular" intention on Ovid's part in the service of Christian ethics, "to give pleasure and . . . profitable advice to all his readers" and, most importantly, each letter in particular either elevates and exemplifies chaste love or denigrates and discourages unchaste love. This interpretative gesture teaches the reader how to use logic to put together a Christian assimilation of pagan ethical expression. See *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism*, 22-3.

epistemology, this strictly refers to the auctor - from the Bible, separating it from the layers of hidden meaning placed there by God. The trick for St. Thomas consists in determining what this literal sense is. For the existence of allegory isn't unique to the sense that divine influence placed in Scripture: the literal meaning expressed by the auctor can be, depending on his writing style, either clear and direct speech or figurative language.

It is this distinction of the literal sense emanating from the auctor's own intention, and the effort incidentally required in properly discerning this, that allowed a nuanced view of authorial intervention in writing, representing a second and co-incidental shift in exegetical practices. The auctor became an object of study for the new usage of causae in prologue organization. The human author became the *causa efficiens*, commonly translated as the efficient cause, but best expressed through recourse to the verb *efficio*: to effect, as in change, as well as execute, bring about, produce. The efficient cause permitted a level of independence and creativity on behalf of the author while allowing a relative amount of unity in assigning responsibility for the creation of the text by assigning duplex causa efficiens: as explained in a prologue to the *Psalter* and the *Apocalypse*, "the cause which is moving and not moved is the holy Spirit, while the cause which is moving and moved is David himself."[25] While the human author was indeed a tool of divine inspiration, human intentions, motivations, even significant contributions could be recognized and cited.

Treating the scriptural auctor in a way that accorded him an integral, albeit intermediary, role in the construction of meaning in a text had far-reaching effects in later literary practices as it interacted with commentaries for secular texts. Such wave-like movement in method and theory for literary reception between secular and religious texts are characteristic of evolutions in later medieval hermeneutics - the Type C prologue was originally developed around profane classical texts before being grafted onto Scripture, whose innovations in response to Aristotelian epistemology later flowed back into secular commentaries. This last movement is critical in bringing together Latinate auctor theory with the function of the author/narrator figure in the dits.

[25]Quoted from Minnis' translation, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 79.

Before proceeding from the regimented theory of literary reception lifted from Latin commentaries to its influence on vernacular literary theory, however, we must reflect on the effect these shifts in the prologue tradition had on the reception of poetry. After all, the dit seems to be at a disadvantage in traditional medieval frameworks of literary reception. In the 12th century *Dialogus super Auctores*, written by Conrad of Hirsau, the scribe presents a didactic session between an idealized, naïve pupil seeking the keys necessary to the literary world from an erudite instructor.[26] At one point, the pupil asks for the differences between "an author, a poet, a writer of history, a bard, an expositor of texts, and a writer of discourses."[27] The teacher replies with a fairly common medieval etymology, explaining that auctor comes from *augendo*, meaning that "by his pen he amplifies the deeds or sayings or thoughts of men of former times." The historian has witnessed the events he reports, as *historia* comes from the Greek *historin*, which is to be glossed as *visio* (sight) in Latin. The poet is the unfortunate fellow of the group according to the teacher: his role is always associated with falsehood, be it through the presentation of the uniquely false, or the haphazard admixture of truth and lies. He is not even equal to the bard, whose mental prowess mesmerizes the listener, and certainly not as useful as the commentator, who unfurls the integument of obscure texts and "illuminates the obscure sayings of others."

The wide-ranging corpus of poetry that has survived in medieval manuscripts cannot possibly testify to an overall cultural eschewal of all things lyrical. Ovid may have committed a grave error in affording too great a role to unchaste love in his *Ars Amatoria*, but poetry as a form does not inherently lack usefulness. Many medieval discussions - in Latin as well as in vernacular texts - engaged with the idea expressed by Horace in *Ars poetica* that literature serves two purposes, namely to be of use (i.e. to instruct) and to delight (*prodesse et delectare*).[28] Ovid's transgression is that

[26]The quotes presented are taken from Minnis' and Scott's translation of Huygens' Accessus in *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism*, 43.

[27]All of which are professions which the modern reader would collapse into the concept of a writer. This is a critical point that I maintain throughout this work in discussing what the *diteur* is in relation to an auctor.

[28]Cambridge History, Kevin Brownlee, et al. "Vernacular literary consciousness," 435.

he may have blurred the boundaries far too uncomfortably between instructing and delighting, for the power of poetry to sway the emotions received a fair amount of emphasis in 13th century discussions.

This power is, according to Hermannus Alemannus' 13th-century translation of Averroes' commentary on Aristotle, centered on *assimilatio*. This term refers to "likening," a specific type of representation that incites the reader or listener in such a way as to reject vice and embrace virtue.[29] As Gillespie has observed, Averroes' emphasis on poetry's affective power seems to have been made from a combination of readings from Horace's *Ars Poetica* and Averroes' own misunderstanding of Aristotle's *Poetics* as applying to poetry rather than tragedy and comedy. Horace privileged the active imagination of the spectator in providing enjoyment and delight. Similarly, Aristotle claimed that the pleasure found in *assimilatio* - an imaginative exercise in which the audience compares the scene that confronts them with their experience of reality - more effectively incites the audience to take away examples.[30] Consequently, a comparison between the images presented in a work with reality creates a simultaneous judgment of moral value - either the mind is attracted or repelled by the fanciful depiction.[31] Thus with Horace and Aristotle's analyses on the psyche of the audience combined, poetry could be viewed as a powerful motivating source. Horace may have employed logic in Ars Poetica in simply teaching how to properly construct poetic form, but Averroes' Aristotelian synthesis demonstrated the kind of thought that projected a serious ethical concern on the function of poetry in society. This framework for poetry is reminiscent of the discussions regarding the use of logic in analyzing the Bible: argument is necessary for matters concerning knowledge within the domain of philosophy, but poetry and rhetoric incite the mind to a more profound awareness of morality. Once again, writers of commentaries appeared to have been able to think in compartments, employing a different hierarchy of rhetoric

[29]This connection has been made by Minnis, "The Trouble with Theology," *Author, Reader, Book* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012), 24.

[30]Gillespie, "From the twelfth century to c. 1450," 167.

[31]Gillespie traces this line of analysis back to Al-Farabi, who provided a 10th century commentary of Horace's *Ars Poetica*. See Gillespie, "From the twelfth century to c. 1450," 167.

and logic according to the domain of inquiry.[32]

As already mentioned, the glossing of *ethice supponitur* allowed a large amount of profane literature to be absorbed by a structure simultaneously adapted for secular and religious works. Poetry itself was often grouped in this corner of philosophy. For a clearer picture of the careful ethical line drawn by poetry, it is illuminating to consider the contradictory juxtaposition of Conrad of Hirsau's claims on poetry against a deeper rationalization for the Christian hermeneutics of grammar school texts presented earlier. Initially, poets do indeed lie, but the challenge lies in discerning under what guise their deceit appears. Their lies are not those of the writer's fables, which present events that haven't happened (and which never will happen.) No - they lie in the same way that significance (*sententia*) for its own sake is unacceptable. This was the power of a Christian system of a "hermeneutics of cultural engagement" - it empowered the instructed reader to sort between idle ornament and morally, ethically, or philosophically useful texts.[33] This puts the oft quoted opinion from Conrad into perspective, which is that poets provide "nourishing milk" to in order to take in the "solid food in the form of more serious reading."[34]

Such a consideration of poetry seems to be at the forefront of many medieval composers of popular works. Alain of Lille's *De Planctu Naturae* leads the reader, albeit through his challenging and opaque narrative style, through a consideration of the debasement of nature that the narrator sees in the current world.[35] Taking a page from Boethius' *De Philosophiae Consolatione*, it seems to be a simultaneous movement for the author as well - the act of writing itself provides the holder of the pen a contemplative, moral path to follow. These kinds of works, which involve the author/narrator in a joint contemplative process, seem to reflect a kind of guided hermeneutic path allegorizing the authorized role of poetry. *De Planctu Naturae*, however, may credit this framework more to motifs inherited from Boethius rather

[32]Minnis, "The Trouble with Theology," 28.

[33]Vincent Gillespie, "From the Twelfth Century to c. 1450," 151

[34]Minnis, *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism*, 54.

[35]"While Nature was revealing aspects of her nature to me in these words and by her instruction, as by an opening key, was unlocking for me the door of her knowledge, the cloudlet of stupor was drifting away from the confines of my mind" Alan of Lille, *The Plaint of Nature*, trans. James J. Sheridan (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 1980), 126.

than a 12th-century narrative reflection on the affective power of poetry.

Thus the question of poetry can be more clearly resolved when filtered through the literary structure created by the 12th century "Type C" prologue and its eventual successor, the Aristotelian format. Poetry takes up a simultaneously simpler and yet more sophisticated position. The latter is due to the more intricate literary system developed in the prologues that triangulated its position with regards to theology, morality, and philosophy. By doing so, the simple response of "it pertains to ethics" was a legitimate, succinct defense against the charges of an inherently deceitful nature. Such a process can be enlightening when brought together with the apparent disparity in subject matter between dits attributed to the same writer. However, I am inclined to argue that the preceding epistemological changes in the heart of literary reception, as reflected in Latin commentaries, and the spill-over effects it had on poetry as a genre had a much greater, and more easily traceable, influence on the conception of the vernacular writer and his work than it did on vernacular conceptions of verse. How did these arguments affect the activity of the vernacular author composing in verse?

Most discussion of the relationship between the literary hermeneutics taken from prologue formats and the idea of a vernacular literary consciousness - especially in secular works - begins, once again, with 14th century writers.[36] It is certainly true that these writers provide ample material that posits an authorial role in actively shaping the circulating text. Gower, for example, seems to have been integrally influenced by academic literary theory in the construction of introductions for his works by outlining an author's intention, its material, and its usefulness.[37] As Sebastian Coxon has rightly observed, however, there has not been an equal amount of effort

[36]See Ardis Butterfield, "Articulating the Author: Gower and the French Vernacular Codex," *The Yearbook of English Studies* 33 (2003): 80-96. Daniel Hobbins provides an analysis of Jean Gerson's own conception of his own role in the constitution of a work, his appraisal of his place in literary history, as well as his assessments of other genres, specifically poetry; see *Authorship and Publicity before Print: Jean Gerson and the Transformation of Late Medieval Learning* (Philadelphia University of Pennsylvania Press: 2009). For research on later medieval constructions of auctoritas and the active dissemination of works by authors, see Alexandra Gillespie, *Print Culture and the Medieval Author: Chaucer, Lydgate, and Their Books, 1473-1557* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[37]Cf. Minnis, "Literary thery and literary practice," *Medieval Theory of Authorship.*

in investigating the "guises" of vernacular authorship outside of theological works, and I would argue that this point is even more true for the 13th century.[38] As he has found with Middle High German texts from this period, the practice of naming the author is somewhat rare until the later half of the 14th century. Rendering these texts all the more inaccessible for modern reception theory to grapple with, it appears that when authorial roles do indeed intercede, they often concentrate on the act of performance rather than the appropriating act of composing.[39] It is no surprise that there has not been a call to set aside the dominance of biographical explanations in the construction of Rutebeuf's or Adam de la Halle's "œuvres." The connections between such textual collections, presented as homogenous unities of a single hand writing with a consistent intent, and a sincerely self-aware poet are slippery.

Thus the dit, in current reconstructions of later medieval literary culture, is stuck between autobiographical interpretations and wider semiotic discussions of a nascent "authorial consciousness" in narrative presentation. The former are dubious at best, and while attributing convincing arguments for codicological arrangements - is the movement from secular works to theological material intended to communicate an overall encompassing conversion for the reader? - this line of inquiry cannot be followed past a certain point. As for the research done on the penetration of the writer from an external and removed position - opposed to the separate enunciator of the song - into his texts as an embodied narrator hidden in the "I" of the poetic form, I am reminded of an observation by Foucault on the nature of discursive analysis. In outlining his practices for describing the relations between discourses, he rejected the idea that all discourse presupposes some sort of "already-said" (*déjà dit*) which is not some proscriptive text, or even loosely-defined concept, but a simultaneously "never said" (*jamais dit*).[40] I view scholars' concentration on the voice of the "I" interpolating the reader as such an analysis of the *jamais dit*: moreover, it seems to privilege the dits over the troubadour lyric as a more conscious - to be read as evolved - recognition of the function of song and text. But no vernacular author that

[38]Sebastian Coxon, *The Presentation of Authorship in Medieval German Literature 1220-1290* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 7.

[39]Coxon, *The Presentation of Authorship*, 11.

[40]Michel Foucault, *L'archéologie du savoir* (Paris: Gallimard, 1969), 36.

I know of discussed this effect. Writing in the early 14th century in his *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, Dante even went so far as to accord the sung lyric (*cantio*) the prize of the most noble literary vernacular form, one of the main reasons being that it brings more honor to its writer.[41]

In order to treat the kinds of literary practices, epistemological frameworks, and authorial portrayals in the dit, I have gone through recent advances in understanding 12th- and 13th-century prologues, which would have had an influence on the educated reader. This strategy allows me to properly appreciate the dit in the *jeu de leur instance*, the play of their immediacy, even ephemerality, as Foucault stated,[42] thereby treating them separately from a deeply-penetrative tradition of genres and literary form in order to identify how they functioned and circulated with regards to other contemporary texts. That is, analyzing how the dits fit into a larger conversation that shaped discourse around what I may term "writership" in the 13th century.[43] Certainly the 13th century possessed a literary culture that privileged a continuous history and unbroken participation in textual citation - including a wide gamut of Scripture, theological treatises involved with authority, and classically inherited texts and motifs. But to gloss over the uses of authorities as simply part of a static tradition is undeniably problematic. The ample work that has been carried out since the 1980s has greatly elucidated the epistemological transformation in assembling a category such as an auctor in the 13th century. I believe such lessons can be carried over into vernacular works written by writers educated in this academic tradition.

[41] *De Vulgarie Eloquentia* L.2 C.3.6, "...illa videntur nobiliora esse que conditori suo magis honoris aferunt ; sed cantiones magis deferunt suis conditoribus quam ballate ..." "Dante poétician, Le *De Vulgari Eloquentia*," *Oc, oïl, si : Les langues de la poésie entre grammaire et musique*, ed. Michèle Gally (Paris : Fayard, 2010), 132.

[42] Foucault, *Archéologie du savoir*, 36. I prefer "the play of its ephemerality", which, while being less faithful etymologically I find to be more fitting with Foucault's insistance on analysing why this *énoncé* exists and no other in its place.

[43] A heavy neologism, perhaps, but it circumvents the ambiguity in the usage of "authorship" with regards to vernacular lyric, which is far too etymologically close to the concepts of auctor and auctoritas. And moreover, as we have briefly seen, commentators and schoolmen were reassessing these very ideas over the course of the 13th century!

For discursive relations such as auctor are "at the limit" of discourses themselves: they neither internally define objects linguistically,[44] nor do they prohibit explicit functions and limits for discourse, such as an academic master mandating the usage of one prologue over another.[45] Instead the mutations in the portrayal of an author in the game between writer, authority, and text can be perceived when juxtaposing an authorized hermeneutic framework - the prologues - with the vernacular authors whose reading practices it would have informed. It is clear that the semiotic breaks in the understanding of what an author and poet were by academic Latin commentators had an effect on vernacular poets. This is the very shift that allowed Dante, at the beginning of the 14th century, to refer to anyone writing in verse as a poet, a term that before had been uniquely reserved for ancient writers.[46] Approaching Biblical poetry through a literal reading of the auctor's intention and profane verse through moralizing exegesis - both being reassessments made visible by looking at the treatment of Latin texts as well as the form of their prologues - exploded, in a way, the older category of poetry as well as the poet.

How does the dit interact with these literary discourses? I have chosen to separate this question into two, co-reinforcing albeit arbitrary parts. In this first chapter, I've confined my analysis to purely discursive treatments of concepts like auctor, poetry, and ethics. As we have seen, the filing of previously unrelated texts within the greater field of philosophy allowed a reassessment of the usefulness of secular literature in the scope of Christian hermeneutics. Poetry became attributed to the branch of ethics, and in a coinciding but not necessarily superimposable shift, the commanding heights of auctor and auctoritas received more nuanced treatment. By the end of the 13th century, an erudite commentator would have had a difficult time holding a dialogue

[44]Where does auctor come from? What does it mean?

[45]A good example would be the letter from Bernard of Utrecht around the late 11th century, identified by Minnis, criticizing the Type B prologue as an "ancient schema" which no longer fits modern practices. See Minnis and Scott, *Medieval Literary Theory and Criticism*, 12. Outline of discursive relations from Foucault, *Archéologie du savoir*, 63.

[46]"...recolimus nos eos qui vulgariter versificantur plerunque vocasse poetas : quod procul dubio rationabiliter eructare presumpsimus, quia prorsus poete sunt, si poesim recte consideremus ..." Michèle Gally highlights in particular Dante's usage of *eructare*, meaning "to vomit," signifying that he is, in a way, throwing this term into the discussion in a new way. "De Vulgari Eloquentia," 134-6.

with his counterpart from 200 years earlier.

In the second part I wish to focus on the role of writing and the conception of the writer himself in order to flesh out the relations between these discourses and the vernacular writer of the dit. This has necessitated a rather artificial division between discursive and codicological features of circulating manuscripts, two processes which mutually construct the notion of a writer and his perceived authority. However, with my theoretical foundation in place, I believe this approach to be much more informative when considering the works of two particular writers of the dit, Adam de la Halle and Rutebeuf, with a conception of epistemological and hermeneutical practices found in the prologues. The auctor as a literary object has changed shape just as much as the structure for ordering his texts has - how did these mutations influence the formation of the dit and its writers?

Chapter 2

Rutebeuf, The Unstable *diteur*

Approaching 13th-century vernacular works with Latinate commentary practices in mind naturally presents several challenges, some of which I have already discussed. While there is a common base to the hermeneutics that scribes and commentators employed in the presentation of Old French and Latinate compositions, the actual practices between these two kinds of texts are not directly transposable, they are not 'isomorphic" to use a term from Foucault. The work of the exegete is certainly complicated by the shift in linguistic expression, intertwined yet distinct literary traditions, and the knowledge and expectations of different audiences. However, while the scribe responsible for transmitting vernacular lyric may not have seen himself occupying the same space as the university master providing a framework for interpreting the works of Horace, their grounding in contemporary discursive treatment of the auctor places them in a particular literary community. This community was nonetheless heterogeneous, and internal disagreements, ranging from the usage of Latin or the vernacular for composition to the value of profane texts for the lay reader, created a multitude of textual hierarchies. In order to highlight the loci in which Latin and vernacular literary practices overlap, I have chosen to focus on a single discursive parameter: the writer. Although every writer did not perform the same function or receive the same authoritative weight, the 13th-century diteur appeared in a space that had been opened by convergent discursive trends in learned circles and the general public.

Rutebeuf occupies an elusive space, bridging the period between the proliferation of the troubadour lyric and the published disputationes of the great 12th and 13th-century masters in Paris, and the post-*Roman de la Rose* growth in authorial self-representation.[1] As indiscernible as the poet behind the works may be, the nature of the corpus that has been attributed to him from the 13th century through modern scholarly practices affords an intriguing case study for the many guises of medieval authorship.

Rutebeuf's background has been convincingly associated with a university and clerkly milieu in Paris around the middle of the 13th century, with the majority of his activity confined to approximately 1250 through 1280.[2] Unsurprisingly, this dating comes entirely from close analysis of the material accepted as "canonical" Rutebeuf productions, as no Old French biographical corollary to the vidas accompany his copied works. Nevertheless, debates that principally engulfed the University of Paris at the time appear prominently in his works. In *La Descorde des Jacobins et de l'Universitei*,[3] Rutebeuf involves himself in the struggle between secular masters of the university and Dominican theologians, the latter having sought (and eventually won) greater rights to theological chairs, "Or guerroient por un escole / Ou il [li Jacobin] welent a force lire."[4]

The case for a privileged education is supported by his continuous defense of the secular masters at the university, which, for biographical interpreters of his corpus,

[1] Although it has been noted by Zink that Rutebeuf may have been aware of Guillaume de Lorris' section of the *Rose* due to the poet's narrative construction of the *Voie d'Humilité* as well as his choice of characters, such as Bel Accueil; see Rutebeuf, *Œuvres Complètes*, 343. This could be an interesting contribution to studies of the Rose that reject a two-part composition and explore the possibility of a single, unified composition by a unique author who is neither Guillaume de Lorris nor Jean de Meun - however, I have been unable to find a study on the Rose that engages Rutebeuf's usage of a similar motif. The closest work that takes up Rutebeuf's corpus in order to date Guillaume de Lorris' section engages the former's poetry as an exercise in philology to understand the declension of Elysabel. It unfortunately dates from 1908. cf. F.M. Warren, "On the Date and Composition of Guillaume de Lorris' Roman de la Rose," *Modern Language Association* Vol. 23.2 (1908), 269-84.

[2] Zink provides a clear outline of the dating techniques in his introduction to the most recent edition of Rutebeuf's complete works.

[3] Unless otherwise mentioned, I will be using the titles that Zink has assigned in his edition.

[4] "Now, they are fighting for a school, where they [the Dominicans] want to instruct by force," vv.15-6.

lasts until his period of religious self-reflection and reclusion announced in *La Repentance Rutebeuf*. He also undertook a short *translatio* from the Latin text of Aristotle's teachings to Alexander because the former "enseigne . . . comment il doit el siecle vivre."[5] As Zink has observed, Rutebeuf does not take his material directly from Aristotle's writings but rather from a passage in Gautier de Châtillon's *Alexandréide*.[6] This work nevertheless contributes additional proof concerning Rutebeuf's social and academic milieu. The case for Rutebeuf as a clerk is based on the same contentions - in fact, Zink seems to distance himself from a straightforward assertion as to the poet's profession by qualifying his education as "celle d'un clerc"[7] rather than addressing his profession directly. Faral and Bastin skirt this issue as well, focusing on "sa formation et ses connaissances littéraires" and the indicators that point towards a well-grounded Latinate education.[8]

Yet if we suppose a common space between Latin and Old French literary culture, there is virtually no evidence that testifies to scribes grafting the same form and language of Latin commentaries onto vernacular compositions from their inception. Before the 14th century, many vernacular writers suffered from a lack of codicological representation within circulating codices, either in the form of prologues or commentaries.[9] There were certainly the celebrated vidas and razos that accompanied troubadour lyric; however, these appear to be the exception. In most cases, the Old French writer could expect to be recognized by a widespread and formulaic one-line introduction, such as "Ci commence li geus Adan." This does not necessarily signal a strict eschewal of more erudite analytical techniques with vernacular texts. Rather, it most likely reflects an already-established cultural recognition afforded to

[5] "[he] teaches . . . how he should live in this world," 956.

[6] Rutebeuf, *Œuvres complètes*, 955. Zink also reads in this dit a poet reminding a young Phillip III of his charitable duties as king, allowing us an additional point of reference to date Rutebeuf's career. Edmond Faral and Julia Bastin equally wrote that "La pièce n'est pas un simple exercice littéraire : elle vise, par un détour, à mettre un prince en garde contre l'avarice," *Œuvres Complètes*, Vol. 1, ed. Faral and Bastin, 556.

[7] Rutebeuf, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Zink, 8. Although Rutebeuf seems to be cogniscent of matters concerning the clerks : in *Les Plaies du Monde*, he writes, "Fors escolier, autre clergié / Sont tuit d'avarisce vergié," vv. 37-38.

[8] *Œuvres Complètes*, vol. 1, ed. Faral and Bastin, 37.

[9] Coxon, *The Presentation of Authorship*, 11.

verse writers in the vernacular. It is critical to note that lyrical and literary traditions between Occitan and Old French compositions were more internally consistent with each other than they were influenced by Latinate practices.[10]

A lack of a common, developed commentary apparatus in vernacular manuscripts has not impeded researchers from discerning the lessons that writers took from Latinity in order to portray themselves and their creative process within their texts. Daniel Hobbins' work on the intersection of Latin and vernacular practices in Jean Gerson's writings places singular importance on analyzing a writer's "mode of expression" in order to understand his practices with regards to past and contemporary authors. While Gerson wrote mainly in Latin as a Master of Theology at the University of Paris, he dedicated a significant amount of effort to transforming the post into an edifying link with the public. This required a change in literary practices, up to and including a rejection of what is considered a fundamental feature of medieval literary composition, the culture of citation, "quibus recte dici potest: dic non quod alii scripserunt, sed quod tu ipse dicis vel sentis."[11] On the opposite end of the spectrum, Margaret Switten has looked at how Gautier de Coinci appropriated the romance ideal of *translatio studii*, using knowledge stored in Latin materials in order to assert himself as an even more authoritative figure within his own vernacular compositions. In *Miracles de Nostre Dame*, he manipulates his own grounding in Latinate source texts in order to contrast the superior use and entertainment found in his set of miracles attributed to the Virgin Mary with the folies found in *chançons polies*.[12]

These studies often revolve around the writer's techniques to strengthen and control his image, as part of a growing body of texts that testify to a nascent literary, vernacular subjectivity. With Switten's work as one of the exceptions, a considerable amount of research dedicated to the function and space accorded to authors outside

[10]Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay, *Knowing Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011), 3.

[11]"To whom [fellow academic debaters] it may be rightly said: don't state what others have written, but what you yourself say or feel." Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity*, 63

[12]Margaret Switten, "Borrowing, Citation, and Authorship in Gautier de Coinci's Miracles de Nostre Dame," ed. Virginie Elisabeth Greene, *The Medieval Author in Medieval French Literature* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2006), 35.

of Latin has begun in the 14th century. Part of this can most likely be explained, as I mentioned earlier, by the proliferation of authorial self-representation outside of internal - that is, narrative - contextualisation. A critical feature of the 14th century is the appearance of authorial portraits and signed manuscripts, permitting not only a more physical manifestation of the author within his work, but a seemingly authorized text for modern editors seeking a critical archetype.[13] 14th-century authors seem to exist in a less hazy space than their counterparts from the previous century: the "je" of Christine de Pizan points directly to a historical subject as well as an authoritative figure.[14]

Conversely, the writer of the 13th century has been portrayed as inhabiting a realm of literary instability, subjected to an identity-robbing tradition of citation and textual *mouvance*. Especially pertinent for the diteur, the vernacular writer of this period had to function within what David Hult has called a "crisis of authority" linked to the emergence of prose as a privileged mode of composition. Due to its strictly material form of circulation, Hult has connected the growth of prose with an overall de-legitimizing effect on the authority of the lyrical figure, whose presence was increasingly eroded by the independent text.[15] It is thus onto the text that a great deal of modern literary theory has shifted the burden of authority in the 13th century.[16]

[13]Michel Zimmermann, *Auctor et auctoritas* (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 2001), 176.

[14]Ardis Butterfield offers another succinct demonstration of the formation of an author explicity conscious of the formation of his œuvre, or to use the medieval Latin term, originalia. For Butterfield, Gower consciously took up Latinate prologue formats as well as its theoretical vocabulary in order to explore the "complex guieses under which authorship was emerging in the books of vernacular writers." Once again, this is a process that has been mostly explored in 14th century writers; see Buterfield, "Gower and the French Vernacular Codex."

[15]David Hult, "Poetry and the Translation of Knowledge in Jean de Meun," *Poetry, Knowledge ,and Community in Late Medieval France*, ed. Rebecca Dixon and Finn E. Sinclair (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2008), 27.

[16]See Zimmerman, *Auctor et auctoritas*, 11. "...c'est l'écriture elle-même qui a la valeur d'autorité; à la limite, même si l'on doit rechercher par perspective des divers intervenants dans sa confection, un acte n'a pas d'auteur, il est auteur ..." Paul Zumthor is equally a significant figure in the movement to deny the 13th century-writer historical personhood, as he emphasized the authority of the text itself before moving onto his period of eliding the author into a wider, more-inclusive locus of literary production; see Paul Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale* (Seuil: Paris, 2000).

While there appears to have been a significant shift of vernacular works from the domain of oral transmission into a more privileged written medium, scribes did not accompany this with a simultaneous growth and refinement of developed commentary forms with detailed rubrication. Rather, faced with the paucity of space allotted to them by scribes, many writers resorted to other means in order to mediate the reception of a given piece. For many of these vernacular writers are not taking up the Latinate auctor as a tool for identifying themselves as well as their mode of production. Rather, even through to the 14th century, Old French as well as Middle English authors utilized the tradition of *translatio studii* in order to assert themselves as a knowing compilator, collector, and scriptor - vocabulary lifted directly from Saint Bonaventure's *Prologue* to his commentary on Peter of Lombard's *Sententiae*.[17] This process of translatio allowed them to fundamentally rethink how authority could be construed, just as the growth of prose allowed for a reassessment of the usage of poetry, and according to Ardis Butterfield, explains the "obscure process" of ascribing authority in the vernacular as opposed to a "gradual glorious flowering."[18]

Grappling with a written medium that afforded them very little control over the presentation and circulation of their material, vernacular authors of this period often relied upon manipulation of the narrative itself in order to ensure their presence within the circulating manuscript. The writer's explicit involvement in the creation of his own work demarcates the extent of his level of authorship, projecting the poet's supposed subjective experiences onto literary form. The speaking persona of the writer presents the reader with a confrontation of the subject fully determined by the exterior world.[19] In doing so, the poet anticipates the actions of future scribes who, employing the close scrutiny of copyists with their own intentions, were in the position to undermine the poet's work. The poet occupied a much stronger position in relation to his work when he became a fundamental part of its signification as well as its physical structure. Nevertheless, this did not cement the individual piece's writer as the ultimate authority in determining a work's sense, and other

[17]Quotation consulted in Minnis, *Medieval Theory of Authorship*, 94.

[18]Butterfield, "Gower and the French Vernacular Codex," 89.

[19]Michel Zink, "Time and Represenation of the Self in Thirteenth-Century Poetry," ed. Monique Briand-Walker, *Poetics Today* 5.3 (1984): 627.

parties besides the creative individual must be considered in order to investigate the construction of the vernacular author in the 13th century.

The current paradigm for investigating the ways in which vernacular writers negotiated their authority thus emphasises their role in the mediation and transmission of knowledge. This approach can be divided into two fundamental objects of study: the author, and his ability to control the sense of his text throughout its transmission, and the wider community of scribes, compilators, and other copyists that had final control over manuscript composition.[20] Zumthor's theory of mouvance has found a particularly wide-ranging application in approaching the perception of a given work over time, even within the same century. In opposition to other researchers such as Zink, Zumthor argued that the text, once removed from the hands of its author, was an object that is "presque totalement objectivée."[21] Because of the objectification - almost subjection in the sense of domination - under the control of copyists, the medieval œuvre is fundamentally "mouvante". That is to say, it has no proper final, end state with regards to interpretation, "moins un achèvement qu'un texte en train de se faire ... plutôt qu'une structure, une phase dans un processus de structuration."[22]

Adrian Armstrong and Sarah Kay take up a very similar line of analysis in the form of ideological knowledge reflected by vernacular poetic texts. Escaping from a paradigm of ethical and political discussions, ideological knowledge runs along the same limits of discourse as discursive relations: they encompass both what is explicitly mentioned as well as what "cannot be formulated."[23] Ideological knowledge,

[20]This is all the more critical for the 13th century, as there is no evidence for manuscripts created by the "original" author, nor for any indication as to what order multiple works should have. As Marie-Anne Polo de Beaulieu has summarized, the notion of writing as the product of a creative individual does not begin to see discussion until the 14th century; see "L'émergence de l'auteur et son rapport à l'autorité dans les recueils d'exempla," *Auctor et Auctoritas*, 3.

[21]To be more precise, this objectification is partly due to its circulation and interpretation outside of the control of the writer, but also because of our distance to its creation, "C'est à dire, dont le sujet, la subjectivité qui jadis s'investit dans le texte, s'est pour nous abolie." Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, 84.

[22]Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, 93.

[23]Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry*, 165. They further delineate "explicit and implicit forms" of knowledge: the former representing something such as religious doctrine presented in a text, and the latter perceivable in interventions by Matfre in the *Breviari d'amor* in order to reinterpret troubadour lyric to fulfill his own needs.

for Armstrong and Kay, is manifested by a work's audience, and the latter's overall sense of community - who is receiving a work, how are they reading it, how does their reception alter its meaning with regards to other circulating versions of the same or a similar work? This is a powerful tool in allowing them to sort out what they call referential knowledge - what can be considered as facts - from the manipulation of texts that reflect deeper social, religious, or political suppositions.[24] Their methodology does not only escape the framework of ethical problems presented by supposedly taboo subjects, or the morally gray areas of mixing religious and profane texts in the same manuscript. As an intriguing inter-linguistic practice, it also allows English-language scholars to absorb the concept of *savoir*, which implies not only a body of knowledge but the act of knowledge formation as well, thus distinguishing it from *connaissance*, an understanding of a given subject or ability to perform in a certain field, which is glossed over in the English catch-all term "knowledge".

It is enlightening to end this introduction by returning to a consideration of the period to which recent studies around vernacular authorship have applied the theoretical approaches that I have outlined. Armstrong and Kay identify the period from Jean de Meun's continuation of the *Roman de la Rose* to Jean Bouchet (approximately 1270 to 1530) as a significant period of production for verse texts dealing with the transmission of knowledge in France.[25] The same text, the *Rose*, forms the beginning of the period studied by the contributors to *Poetry, Knowledge, and Community in Late Medieval France*. A revealing trend can be seen in the material treated by each researcher - almost every chapter treats manuscripts or authors who appeared after c. 1270. In fact, in the introduction, Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet emphasizes that the "désir de savoir caractérise un mouvement dans la littérature vernaculaire qui se met en place à la suite du Roman de la Rose."[26] The *Roman de la Rose* certainly marks a high point of vernacular French poetry in relation with the authority accorded to Latin literature - as Huot has shown, the *Rose* represented a work that could be equated with Latinate, edifying works. It was read in a scholarly

[24] Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry*, 22.

[25] Armstrong and Kay, *Knowing Poetry*, 3.

[26] Emphasis added by me. Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, "L'amour de Sophie, Poésie et Savoir du Roman de la Rose à Christine de Pizan," *Poetry, Knowledge, and Community*, 2.

context, compared to Latin texts, and even judged appropriate for introducing the reader, through a vernacular adaptation, to corresponding Latin material.[27] However, it is difficult to accept that the *Rose* was a singular event that marked the sudden birth of a new valuation of the vernacular by both writers and readers, who suddenly took up a fervent *désir de savoir*.

Following on the footsteps of previous work in the same vein, I argue that Rutebeuf and other diteurs such as Adam de la Halle participated in earlier explorations of the guises under which knowledge may be sought and attained.[28] Beginning with the *Roman de la Rose* is certainly tempting, as it seems that subsequent authors were more willing and eager to actively engage with Latinate forms and vocabulary in order to define their activities and construct their identities as participants in the creation and proliferation of knowledge. But how do Rutebeuf and Adam de la Halle allow us to triangulate the functioning of the vernacular author in the period before the *Rose*? While they may not engage with the Latinate tradition in the same way, their education would have brought them into contact with its instructions on classification and literary reception. Moreover, the medium in which their works circulated, controlled by scribes and compilators with their own preconceptions and goals, affords us a secondary lens through which mid-13th-century conceptions of the vernacular author may be filtered. My approach to their work is thus divided into three principal levels: how they attempted to assert their identities as writers within their own compositions, how contemporary scribes shaped the circulating figures and their corpus, and how modern editors and researchers have constructed identities for these writers. Having examined Rutebeuf's discursive techniques for valorizing as well as playfully problematizing readings of his works, I consider how contemporary and later scribes responded to his diverse corpus by both creating pseudo-booklets unifying his pieces under one section as well as extracting ad hoc

[27]Sylvia Huot, *Romance of the Rose and its Medieval Readers* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 11.

[28]See Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book: The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1987); Michel Zink, *La Subjectivité littéraire autour du siècle de Saint Louis*; Coxon, *The Presentation of Authorship in Medieval German Literature*.

any dits that may suit their immediate purposes in a larger compendium. As a final reflection, I apply this same scrutiny to modern editors, who have instead regrouped the texts attributed to Rutebeuf under a critical apparatus and employed various methodologies and approaches to construct the poet and interpret his work.

2.1 Auto-portrayal

While scribes and copyists dominated the conditions of a vernacular text's circulation in the 13th century, they did not hold a monopoly in the portrayal of the guises under which authorship could manifest itself. Vernacular poets often contended with the manipulations that a removed hand in the future was liable to commit on their work by crafting sections of the internal narrative to function around the presence of the writer. In such a way, they both foresaw and pre-empted the work of the crafty scribe "correcting" a perceived rhyming error or the demanding copyist who dispensed with opening prologues. This practice resonates all the more with Rutebeuf, a poet whose existence is known solely through lyrical self-representation.

Rutebeuf is lazy and crude - he says so himself: "Rutebuez, qui rudement euvre / qui rudement fait la rude euvre / Qu'asseiz en sa rudesse ment / rime la rime rudement."[29] His name, interspersed amongst the lyric, has a semiotic weight that connects with the modern tradition of biographies and memoires, which establish an a priori overlap of the speaking persona and the author. This is not to say that modern scholarship has seriously engaged with truly literal readings - there are not many who would claim that Rutebeuf regularly began his "first sleep" when others were preparing for the day.[30] Yet the line of overt subjectivity that runs throughout many of his works has led to a history of interpreting this expression as the principal mode through which he exerts ownership and control over his texts as well as their sense. Perhaps Rutebeuf adopts the guise of the untalented poet

[29] "Rutebeuf, who crudely works, / who crudely makes the crude work, / who lies much in his crudeness, / crudely rhymes the lines." "La Vie de Sainte Elyzabel," *Œuvres Complètes*, vv. 1997-2000, 748.

[30] "Au point dou jor, c'on entre en oeuvre / Rutebués qui rudement huevre / . . . / Fu ausi com dou premier soume." "La Voie d'humilité," *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Zink, vv. 17-20, 344.

in order to, paradoxically, feign the presence of truth in his writings through a "modesty topos."[31] The depiction of his labor as a rough piece of work may fit into a constructed persona whose existence gave the author a reasonable control of content and interpretation faced with the codicological power of scribes and the inherent instability of oral circulation. Nevertheless, Rutebeuf's identity has come to be read as a purposefully manipulated figure operating literarily rather than as an impression of reality.[32]

I would like to situate Rutbeuf's name within a greater symbolic context, in which Latinate discourse on authorship can be seen to influence vernacular authors as well as compiling scribes. Certainly a part of this process of examination necessitates speculation: for some, speculation on Rutebeuf's motives and self-perception; in my case, speculation on Rutebeuf's literary knowledge, a factor that would pin down and delineate a specific set of discursive formations that operate on his ability to express and define his identity. This can perhaps be viewed as a weakness in applying Foucault's archaeology to a literary culture - namely for vernacular writers - whose contact with *énoncés*, specifically contained in discourse proliferating within Latinate texts, is still not completely understood. While speculation of this sort may not be founded on authorial intentions, that is hardly the point of exploring the ways in which Rutebeuf's self-expression interacted with erudite Latinate theory. Medievalists are certainly not uncomfortable with fundamentally unanswerable questions. This should not engender a subsequent hesitation to "speculate", or to even associate this creative act with academic disdain. As Bahr and Gillespie have rightly observed, "speculation" has its roots in the speculator, the risky yet valuable intelligence-gatherer: the task is not "to guess, but rather to look both carefully and imaginatively."[33] In this sense, a new perspective on Rutebeuf's connection with the concept of writing that was expressed in medieval vocabulary brings a fresh nuance

[31]It is certainly engaging with medieval discussions on the nature of truth poetry versus prose, as the former is liable to mold phrases according to aesthetic qualities rather than present a faithful text in which each signifier communicates as closely as possible the intended sense. Michel Zink, "Time and Representation," 616.

[32]This more recent scholarly tradition can be traced back to Nancy Regalado, "Poetic Patterns in Rutebeuf," *Yale Romantic Studies* 2.21 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1970).

[33]Bahr and Gillespie, "Medieval English Manuscripts," 358.

to his own ability to simultaneously engage and undermine discourse around the process of composition.

It is impossible to separate the act of writing from the name Rutebeuf. The poet is only known through literary self-representation, but playful etymologies on his name also reflect a constant concern with the creative process. Rutebeuf lacks talent for his profession, "Rutebuez, qui rudement euvre / qui rudement fait la rude euvre . . . "[34] as if a cow (*bués*) were given a quill and parchment, "Car pore nule riens ne creroie / que bués ne feïst rude roie / tant i meïst hon grant estude" (vv. 2001-2003).[35] He incompetently sows these rough fields that he deigns to call rhymes because it is his only choice, "autre labour ne sai faire" (v. 14).[36] There is certainly a level of self-mockery in these lines, which can be put into context of his other works that implore various patrons to support an intense, lifelong poverty.[37] The physicality of his work, the image of an ungainly man awkwardly forcing a plough through hard soil, connects with a set of vocabulary used by Latinate authors to describe their own labors. Many verbs connecting the subject to his creation in medieval descriptions of authorship imbue the act with an inherent concreteness. Some of the most common, apart from the basic *dicere* and *scribere*, include *elucubrare*, *cudere*, and *exarare*.[38] All three of these emphasize the difficulty in effort required to compose and finish a work - *elucubrare* implies, similarly to *invigilare*, the writer working through the night, here by the aid of candlelight. *Cudere* is associated with the physical act of hammering out a product, whose final structure is carefully shaped just as the universe was created from the void, "verax Deus omnia cudens."[39] *Exarare* provides the most concrete depiction of writing as a physical labor, coming from *arare*, a

[34]"Rutebeuf, who crudely works / who crudely wroughts his crude work." "La Vie de Sainte Elyzabel" *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Zink vv. 1997-1998, 748.

[35]"Because for no reason would I believe / that a cow wouldn't roughly till a field / no matter how much he dedicated himself."

[36]I don't know any other kind of work.

[37]Such as the two *Griesche* pieces, *Le Dit de Renart le Bestourné*, and *La Pauvreté Rutebeuf*, among many other references interspersed throughout the rest of his works.

[38]Pascale Bourgain, "Les Verbes en rapport avec le concept d'auteur," *Auctor et auctoritas : invention et conformisme dans l'écriture médiévale*, ed. Michel Zimmerman (Paris: Ecole des Chartes, 2001), 362-372.

[39]Bourgain, "Les Verbes," 367.

typical word used to describe the farmer preparing a field for planting.

Rutebeuf does indeed "plough through" the parchment with his quill. These references to the physical burden that the act of composition requires would not have been lost to a literate audience, especially the scribes who transmitted his work. In the context of manuscript A, Rutbeuf's work itself can be seen as an independent field that stands out against the surrounding texts, with signposts signalling entry and exit - *ci coumencent li dit Rutebeuf, expliciunt li dit Rutebeuf.* In a simultaneous move, he turns an otherwise authoritative claim into an auto-derisive portrayal, as he is not the cultivating farmer, but the unsophisticated cow. While he is borrowing motifs from the Latinate tradition and transposing them into the vernacular, his supposed inadequacies do not stem from the language of composition. Rutebeuf actively expresses the usefulness of his *fransois* translations of Latinate sources.[40] Rather, he is cunningly manipulating authoritative portrayals as a fundamental constituent of his literary persona.

It is not a novel feature for medieval writers to engage in self-deprecation for myriad reasons, from pure entertainment purposes to more sly moves to transpose the risk of morally subversive themes from their own ingenuity to loyalty towards the original narrative's contents. Yet the inclusion of Rutebeuf's name into his poetry appears to do more than identify and assign creative ownership. As Bourgain has remarked, authors do not themselves "authorize" - the words they use themselves revolve around the fabrication of a work and the toil required to bring a text into creation.[41] Rutebeuf's poetry operates within a literary culture in which the writer himself cannot ensure the relative kind of reception accorded to his text. Instead, he creates an authorial paradox by which his work is the product of the same process as more erudite *doctores*, but which must be received as a (satirically) inferior text. The inclusion of "Rutebeuf" in one piece is sufficient to establish a certain series of approaches and interpretations for the reader, exerting a level of authorial control that otherwise may not be possible. As I will demonstrate in the next section, this array of receptive possibilities for the reader was actively taken up and manipulated

[40]See *Dit d'Aristote* and the *Vie de Sainte Elyzabel.*
[41]Bourgain, "Les Verbes," 374.

by the scribe.

2.2 Manuscripts

The Independent Series: Manuscripts A and B

Of the three manuscripts that contain a large number of texts attributed to Rutebeuf, none present the entire series currently accepted as canonical. Paris, BNF fr. 837, referred to as manuscript A, was chosen for the F.-B. edition because of its homogenous composition, being entirely copied by one hand, as well as the editors' desire for a scripta that reflected their theories on Rutebeuf's francien background. Composed of 362 folio leaves, A is an archetypal example for the manuscript "copied in one go", a single production unit using Erik Kwakkel's terminology.[42] Copied on vellum in the late 13th century using a small gothic script, the manuscript contains a wide selection of works in Old French and displays little scribal intervention other than incipit and explicit notation, with occasional authorial attributions. Its decoration is neither sparse nor florid: while the first leaf displays a large illustration of a genuflected individual possibly presenting a book, the rest of the pieces are introduced with a gold initial and contain alternating red and blue drop-caps. The manuscript is built around a varied thematic makeup that mixes profane works with religious devotions, which for the modern reader clashes with the lack of exegetical framework. As an example, *Li jugemenz des cons* is placed between *Li A B C Nostre Dame* and *La Patrenostre glosée*, an organisation which could lead to a disorienting experience for the modern reader if the texts were consulted in order.

Leaving aside questions of readership practices, the visually homogenous nature of the codex testifies to a scribe with little concern for providing distinguishing traits to guide the reader in transitions between different themes, matters, or writers. Every piece is accorded a large initial to divide it from the previous, along with the standard explicit followed by its expected partner, the next piece's incipit. This

[42]He terms any booklet or manuscript a single "production unit" when it contains no cæsuræ. Erik Kwakkel, "Late Medieval Text Collections," *Author, Reader, Book*, 62-3.

general presentation for each and every work complicates the wide range of topics and genres that are fitted together with apparent impunity. With one exception, there are no demarcated author sections: most works are introduced with an offset title and lack the possessive "de" that would identify their writer. In the case of the few pieces that are associated with a name, the scribe provides the identifier when appropriate, such as "La bible au seigneur de Berze Chastelain" and omits it when either unknown or, perhaps, unnecessary. It thus seems difficult to consider an author function when the writer's textual presence is markedly devalued, even effaced. If the name of the author serves to unify discourse by linking texts through significant interdependency,[43] the scribe of this manuscript does not appear compelled to acknowledge its significant absence.*Les 15 signes de la fin du monde* directly follows *De Narcisus* in a section containing unattributed works - is the reader to interpret their proximity in a different manner than when Robert de Blois' *Le Chastiement des dames* precedes Henri d'Andeli's *La Bataille des 7 arts*?

The scribe is not lazy, however - this is not the image of the copyist throwing together extracts from different exemplars without concern for presentation. Rubrication is not an ignored practice - within *Le Miracle de Théophile*, the scribe took care to note the speakers as well as brief character traits, which may or may not have been supplied by the author: "Ja vient Theophiles / a Salatin qui parloit / au deable qua[n]t il voloit" (fol. 298v).[44] Nevertheless, with regard to author rubrication, the scribe of manuscript A reinforces the sense of Rutebeuf's works as a relative thematic or literary unity by grouping the attributed pieces within *ci commencent li dit Rutebuef*. This creates a relative amount of tension with the lack of rubricated attribution for writers in the manuscript overall, a property that would not be readily discernibly by studying the catalogue entry on the manuscript. For the large majority of pieces, an archival researcher has provided the source of the text by removing internal attribution - *cest fablel fist Hues Piaucele* - and placing it next to the title, *D'Estormi*. Although certainly useful for organising and consulting metadata, it is not a faithful representation of the scribe's manipulation of authority, and the com-

[43]Foucault, "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?" 799.

[44]"At that time Theophile came / to Salatin who spoke / with the Devil whenever he wished."

plex nature of his treatment of Rutebeuf as a writer becomes invisible. Rather, the creation of a "Rutebeuf section" undermines the authority of other writers through its codicological valorisation of the poet's name, grouping a series of works under one attribution and serving as a vernacular mirror to the weight that a Latinate name brought to the value of knowledge contained in a text. Rutebeuf is set apart in this codex, not by placing his works in the beginning or the end, but by casting them in the form of a quasi-booklet which, if cut out, could circulate on its own.

Admittedly, his works are not organized in the modern editorial sense; there is no homogenous collection of fabliaux clearly divided from hagiographic texts. The internal construction of the Rutebeuf series replicates the treatment of subjects found elsewhere in the manuscript: religious followed by profane, *La Vie sainte Elysabel* preceding *Dou soucretain et de la fame au chevalier*. This quality, which deserves to be expounded upon further in a discussion of the constitution of the oeuvre itself, nevertheless does not reduce the significance accorded to Rutebeuf. That is to say, the apparently haphazard organisation of his works does not necessarily result from an altogether weak ideological treatment of the author function's role in mediating the sense of a unified oeuvre. While the supposedly biographical pieces are scattered about in the quasi-booklet dedicated to his work, they attest to a possible chronological sequence of pieces that interact and produce co-dependent literary senses. The *Complainte Rutebeuf* contains a lament by the writer on several sources of grief in his life, the first of which the reader is expected to clearly recall, "quar bien avez oi le conte / en quel maniere je pris ma fame darreniere / qui bele ne gent nen iere."[45] This reminder particularly reinforces the continuity between dits experienced by the reader of this manuscript, as *Li Mariages Rutebeuf* directly precedes *La Complainte*.[46] As a further example, the *Voie de Paradis*, a morally redemptive turn by the speaking persona that takes place in the form of a dream vision, follows

[45]Quote taken from Paris, BNF fr. 837, f. 308v, "...because you have certainly heard the story / about the way in which I recently took a wife / who was neither beautiful nor charming."

[46]In a similar placement, the reconstruction performed by Dufeil that Zink used in order to chronologically order Rutebeuf's poetry in his edition only places two dits between *La Complainte* and *Li Mariages*. Scribal practices do not always provide results that fundamentally diverge from those of modern editors, regardless of the lack of effort often accorded to the former.

this sorrowful lamentation, and the scribe clinches the entire series with *La Mort Rustebeuf*. A cunning simultaneous explicit for the author and the work. The scribe, and by consequence the manuscript, is an integral part of the process that constructs not only a speculative identity, but the discursive treatment of authority.

Manuscript A is not the only surviving codex that treats the works of Rutebeuf as a semi-independent unit. Formed through the joining of two separate booklets, one containing an almost complete collection of Rutebeuf's work, and the second an incomplete copy of the *Romans d'Alexandre*, manuscript C, Paris, BNF fr. 1635, lends credence to the possible separate circulation of a diteur's works. Copied on vellum at the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century,[47] manuscript C is a codex in folio format consisting of two (possibly originally independent) sections amounting to 182 leaves, written in different hands. The first booklet of 84 leaves is of principal concern, as it contains the works of Rutebeuf: it is copied in a *scripta* that shows orthographical traits from eastern France and is decorated with colorful initials. In an identical fashion to manuscript A, the scribe only provides black *explicits* and rubricated *incipits* for each individual dit.

The first section consists of the works of Rutebeuf and bears the marks of having an initial period of independence after its composition.[48] Rather than fitting into the framework established by manuscript A that united, physically and thus ideologically, anonymous and attributed dits into one form of reception, manuscript C presents another role that the writer of the dit may play once in the hands of a scribe. For in the process of shaping the properties of a codex, the latter inscribes a received conception of the diteur's authorial function.

It is precisely the act of bringing together two separate texts that makes manuscript

[47]The "profesia profito merlino" for the years 1340-1350 have been written on the flyleaf, so the material contained within must date before this.

[48]*Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeu*f, vol. 1, ed. Edmon Faral and Julia Bastin (Paris: A. et J. Picard, 1959-1960), 17 It is certainly composed by a different scribe than the second section, which contains the *Romanz d'Alexandre* copied in a different hand. Beyond this, F.-B. argue convincingly that it circulated by itself during a period of time for several reasons : the end of the Rutebeuf section is the end of a quire and an overall booklet, and the pagination is different in the two sections. Most importantly, the last pages of the Rutebeuf section show the signs of wear from handling without sufficiently protective binding.

C a unique example of the treatment that could be afforded Rutebeuf's dits. The second half contains a 13th-century copy of the *Romans d'Alexandre*, which contains several features that distinguish it from the set of Rutebeuf works. Most notable of these is the illustration dramatizing the crowning of King Alexander at the beginning of the text, along with the slightly different script. An irregular medieval foliation throughout the manuscript, marking approximately every eight to ten folia, nevertheless unifies the book and is the principal trace of the later compiler. Other than this organizational mark and the shared language of composition, it is difficult to understand the idea governing this compilation, at least by any thematic analysis. The varied topics and motifs of Rutebeuf's dits appear far from the subject matter and register of the *Romans*.

These two sections cooperate in a more abstract faction, and the inclusion of the *Romans* can be seen as a force that reflects a relative amount of unity back onto the otherwise disconnected set of dits. How much of a conclusion that can be drawn from this act with regards to the reception afforded Rutebeuf within his own time period is certainly arguable - at best it illustrates, like manuscript B, which I will shortly examine, a later point in the process of literary canonization as C was most likely put together in the early to mid 14th century, around 50 years after Rutebeuf's death. But there is a sense of completeness in reading the dits in this manuscript: just as the *Romans* begins and ends a story, so do the works of Rutebeuf constitute a complete series. Recent work in book history has valorized this point of view, elevating the form that a book gives to a work towards a level of perception that is more immediately available than that of the work's more idealized form contained in the reader's mind.[49] The compiler's actions in joining together the texts in front of him seem to fit in line with a history of considering the apparently amorphous set of Rutebeuf texts as an inherently unified whole to be transmitted together. By the 14th century, and most likely already before, Rutebeuf was received amongst the reading public as a writer whose works were best transmitted as a unit.

A booklet of Rutebeuf works - it certainly is its own production unit - can be interpreted in two divergent ways, however, which could present a menacing chal-

[49]D. Vance Smith, "The Inhumane Wonder of the Book," *The Chaucer Review* 47.4 (2013): 362.

lenge to interpreting this format as an authorizing move towards the writer. On one hand, do we simply have two cases in this manuscript of exempla copy texts destined to serve as resources for further copying? A scribe could have viewed such a resource, after all, as a collection of individual pieces from Rutebeuf that suited more immediate interests. Conversely, this could very well represent an "authoritative" text, a medieval corollary to a critical edition created after a fastidious consultation of other existing manuscripts. Just as in the case of manuscript A, the second argument appears stronger: the artistic quality of the script and initials testify to an almost certain aristocratic audience as the manuscript's original owner.

When the constructions of a Rutebeuf corpus from manuscripts A and C are considered within the scope of other codices that either break up the dits or only feature a small number of his works, I believe that the latter possibility becomes much more credible. Yet Rutebeuf as a source to be sampled from is interconnected with the quality of a field of circulating knowledge, a significant property of a true auctor: his works are not only transmitted within the self-contained units of manuscripts A and C, but in miscellanies and ethical texts as well (as we will see for manuscripts B and G). Moving away from the ideological effects hinted at by physical book production, a more discursive treatment can be perceived in the piecewise construction of the author in manuscripts that only include a few pieces, if not just one. Somewhat paradoxically, it is in these small samplings that a deeper and more evident employment of Rutebeuf within vernacular scribal culture can be sketched.

Intertextuality: Manuscript B

It is not only through the creation of a singular, circulating text under a single author that the status of authority may be attributed. BNF fr. 1593, referred to since the F.-B. edition as manuscript B, is a composite codex in folio made up of separate production units that were arranged and rebound some time in the 15th century. The concept of production units proves to be especially helpful in describing the makeup of our manuscript, as it has been taken apart (perhaps more than once) and recombined with material from other previously independent codices. To analyze it in the form of "booklets" would necessitate a more speculative reconstruction of

which sections were copied as self-contained meaningful units.[50] In the process of recombining thematically, and perhaps geographically, disparate fragments, moreover, the hand that recompiled manuscript B seems to have effected an operation that either redefines what can be seen as a booklet, if not directly challenging it altogether.

Manuscript B is a sizeable, heterogeneous collection, amounting to 220 leaves, of which only the first 143 are of immediate concern. It can be divided into 6 sections based on changes in script, with the work of at least 5 separate hands discernible. The first 58 folia are uniquely devoted to *Renart le Nouve*l by Gielee and are beautifully concluded with an elaborate thematic portrait that allegorizes the nature of fortune. Gielee's piece is followed by two quires containing folia 59 through 74, written in a different 13th-century hand, and which present 24 pieces attributed to Rutebeuf. Unlike the case of manuscript A, his works are not framed by a *li dit Rutebeuf* heading.[51] Understandably, such an organizational structure would be difficult to apply given the distribution of works in this book - Rutebeuf's works appear in three distinct sections, some more independent than others. Indeed, following this more or less sizeable collection of 21 dits, almost 30 folia consisting of works by Marie de France, and an additional "Marie" perhaps conflated with the former, divide the initial presentation of Rutebeuf from three additional texts: *Renart le Bestourné*, *Le Dit de Sainte Eglise*, and *La Prière Rutebuef*. Finally, two more celebrated pieces, *Li Mariages Rutebuef* and *La Complainte Rutebuef*, are located after another 30 folia, and moreover, written in a separate hand. This structure is reminiscent of a common play that Rutebeuf made on his name, accusing himself of lazy work that showed an overall inattention to detail[52] - it seems at first glance that the manuscript is the

[50]cf. Ralph Hanna III, "Booklets in Medieval Manuscripts: Further Considerations," *Studies In Bibliography* 39 (1986): 100-111.

[51]Because of the makeup of this manuscript, it is difficult to speculate why. Was this next set of quires, following the *Renart le Nouvel*, originally intended to follow a section by a different author, and simply copied out by a different scribe? Was it added by the later compiler (whom I suspect to have worked in the 15th century)? No solid conclusion on the initial, 13th-century treatment of Rutebeuf's works by the original scribe can be discerned.

[52]As an example, in *Li Mariages Rutebuef* from this manuscript, "Or dira l'en que mal reprueve / Rutebues que [sic] rudeme[n]t euvre / l'en dira voir / quant je ne pourre roube avoir." (fol. 134v).

result of an equally careless compiler.

On the level of textual analysis, this patchwork of texts and hands can be explained by the operations carried out by a 15th century individual. I have included an illustration (Fig. 1) of the production units that concern us in order to best exemplify the interaction between texts that I will later highlight. Production Unit I, so called because it bears the marks of having been copied by one individual without the intention of being joined to any other part of this manuscript, contains only one text, the *Renart le Nouvel*. Unit II has been split apart by the 15th-century editor and divided by an additional set of texts, Unit III. Unit II contains the bulk of Rutebeuf's texts - IIa is entirely composed of 21 works by Rutebeuf, whereas IIb begins with three Rutebeuf texts and continues with other miscellaneous dits.[53]

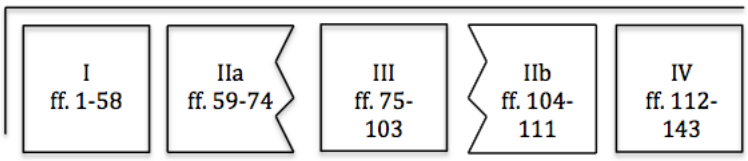

Fig. 1

Unit III is the wrench that seems to bring chaos to what would be an otherwise typical medieval Old French miscellany: striking at the unity of the texts brought together in II, it contains two pieces by Marie de France, the *Livre d'Ysopet* and the *Évangile des Femmes*,[54] and ends with *Renart le Bestourné* by Rutebeuf. Finally, unit IV contains a further miscellany of dits written in a hand different from that of I, II, or III, and contains the final two pieces by Rutebeuf. With regards to script, each unit except III was copied by a different, but single scribe, and it is the heterogeneity of III that provides a vital key in understanding the function of this manuscript as an aesthetic whole.

[53]The same hand and mise en page testify to the previous unity of II. A more developed defense of this analysis is taken up in *Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf*, vol. 1, ed. Faral and Bastin, 14-16.

[54]While there is no universal consensus that the *Évangile des Femmes* is the work of the same Marie behind the *Lais*, there is evidence that medieval readers identified this piece with Marie de France; see Marie de France, *Les Fables*, ed. Charles Brucker (Louvain: Peeters, 1991), 1-3.

For our 15th century copyist left behind the marks of his quill as well as those of his binding operation throughout his codex, but especially in unit III.[55] The same hand that emends or rewrites previously faded text in unit I completely copies out folia 100-103 of unit III, which include the last 13 lines of the Fables as well as the entirety of *Ysopet* and *Renart le Bestourné*.[56] The late medieval editor appears to be splitting up a comfortably unified manuscript in order to force Marie de France into a rather compromising position, stuck between Rutebeuf's dits without any thematic or ethical relationship to the surrounding works. After all, why are the two Renart works so far apart from each other?

Manuscript B's construction as a miscellany does not necessitate immediately perceptible connections between pieces from various sections, yet it ought notpreclude attempts to recognize other kinds of discursive unities outside of themes and genres. The ideological signification that two pieces bring to a text through their interaction is not simply measured by the physical distance between them. Regardless of their placement, an active, imaginative motivation manipulates these texts, one that also demonstrates a growing valorization of Rutebeuf in a developing literary canon. I have used the word "miscellany" up to this point in the same unremarkable sense that most medievalists use it: in the typically semi-unconscious way a modern reader would participate in constructions of genre by referring to one book as an encyclopedia and another as a magazine. Miscellany may be more dangerous as a generic term than either of these, or even most other genres, as "miscellaneous" is liable to be conflated with aimless or arbitrary. As Ralph Hannah III has observed, the use of the word miscellany by modern scholarship is proof of a common "befuddlement" about subject matter.[57] Especially when we attempt to compare a recueil

[55]It is, in the end, speculation that the 15th-century hand and the binding operation emanate from the same individual. The presence of the same corrective script throughout the manuscript is fairly convincing evidence that the manuscript was put together and edited in the same period of time.

[56]F.-B. provide more detailed speculation concerning what could have existed between Unit IIb/IIa before the 15th-century splicing, as well as the original position of *Renart le Bestourné* in the previous organization; see *Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf*, vol. 1, ed. Faral and Bastin, 16-18.

[57]Ralph Hannah III, "Miscellaneity and Vernacularity: Conditions of Literary Production in Late Medieval England," *The Whole Book* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996) 37.

of Old French dits to the standards set out by the more well-established systems of transmission that existed for Latinate texts in the 13th century, a reading of the manuscript text by text, such as the process that has long been valorised by editors of critical editions, produces a muddled view of the manuscript as a whole.

As Hannah recommends, it is critical to read the texts like their compiler in order to perceive rhetorical approaches. I would add to this approach the contemplation of what makes the manuscript whole in order to visualize discursive formations that operate on it. In this line of analysis, a thoughtful remark by Arthur Bahr and Alexandra Gillespie comes to mind, where they offer a critical precision on the use of "material" in the sense of a "material text": it is not just what is held in the hand, it is what exists in the reader's head. While his comment is directed towards researchers who idealize the historical information that they believe to only be perceivable when the form of the book is divorced, and privileged, from literary analysis of the text itself, their description of the value of including the form of the book within literary studies is worthwhile. To separate the physical book from its more immediately intelligible contents is an "evacuation of its philosophical meaning", for books and texts are equally "entangled in the networks of relations that constitute ideology."[58]

One of the disparate Rutebeuf selections can most likely be explained by a simple recourse to textual analysis. The last section, consisting of two works, *La Complainte Rutebuef* as well as *Li Mariages*, most likely represents the inclusion of a previously independent production unit into this complex composite manuscript.[59] In that way, it does not represent a conscious effort by any one individual scribe or copy editor to disconnect these two pieces from the rest of the Rutebeuf "cannon."[60] It is the splitting of Unit II that seems considerably more puzzling. In this act, however,

[58]Arthur Bahr and Alexandra Gillespie, "Medieval English Manuscripts: Form, Aesthetics, and the Literary Text," *The Chaucer Review* 47.4 (2013): 351.

[59]Folio 111 serves as a tab to mark the end of a unit: it has been cut so that only one column remains. Not only does the hand change for the next series of quires, but they clearly were joined as an independent unit.

[60]Several lines of speculation as to why our 15th century binder did not recopy these onto folia with closer proximity to unit II. After all, unit III contains a recopied Renart le Bestourné, and an entire column of 103r, all of 103v, and three quarters of the first column of 104r (the last having been cleared of the end of a previous work by scratching) are empty. Perhaps the copyist did not consider this sufficient room to move the two Rutebeuf pieces.

the 15th-century compiler participates in a game of orality and textuality that has its roots in Rutebeuf's own pieces, as well as the treatment of his works by earlier, 13th-century scribes. This has not gone unnoticed, as Julien Stout has observed that this manuscript juxtaposes the works of Marie de France and Rutebeuf in order to not only reinforce the sense of authority that is shared by both of them, but to place them within the medieval system of translatio studii.

Marie's epilogue in the *Livre d'Ysopet* establishes a firm depiction of her fully independent translation of a Latin exemplar.[61] All the more so, she traces the story back to its Greek roots, outlining the fables' path as they moved from Greek to French, through Latin and English as intermediate steps. As Stout observes, this same principle interacts with Rutebeuf's own play on the translatio in his *Griesche* pieces - in his case, however, he mocks the quality of the knowledge coming from Greece, playing on the words for the country as well as the famous game of die, and subsumes for himself creative authority.[62] Rutebeuf's works are effectively mirrored around those of Marie - they interact with each other through an intermediary reflection on the nature of authorship, in which Marie not only has recourse to the classic motif of carrying over ancient knowledge through the act of *translatio*, but also remind the reader of the necessity of writing the author's identity into the work. As Marie writes, "cil fet ke fol ki sei ublie."[63] Moreover, Rutebeuf's works can be placed into a textualized environment and thus the valorised position of authority - after all, it is the *Livre d'Ysopet*, which resonates with the general medieval use of livre as a Latin text. This manuscript may have been constructed with oral delivery in mind, but its ideological construction demonstrates a more developed process of canonization than any surviving earlier manuscripts.

Certainly this is the act of a 15th-century reader and compiler and thus falls out of the purview of an analysis of 13th-century author discourse. It demonstrates

[61]This is apparently a necessary move, as otherwise she risks having clerks claim her work for themselves, "Marie ai nun, si sui de France. / Put cel estre que clerc plusur / prendereient sur eus mun labur / ne voil que nul sur lie le die / cil fet que fol ki sei ublie," Marie de France, *Les Fables*, 366.

[62]See Julien Stout, "Une Vie en plusieurs exemplaires," *Etudes Françaises* 48.3 (2012): 39-45.

[63]"He who is forgotten is only doing foolish things."

nonetheless the importance of considering form as a historically contingent factor that is intertwined with semi-conscious variables such as authorship.[64] It is quite possible that the compiler of manuscript B did not perceive Rutebeuf and the authors of the two Marie texts as undertaking the same kind of creative processes or holding similar relations with their works. The construction of manuscript B nevertheless reflects the author's name as a function effecting a certain operation on the works' reception. The scribe seems to have identified both texts ascribed to a Marie under a similar use-value, and the properties of authoritative control of knowledge depicted within the texts themselves can become a powerful ideological statement in the text when combined with another self-promoting author such as Rutebeuf.

It is thus more intriguing and perhaps enlightening that Rutebeuf's own *Renart le bestourné* appears after the two intervening texts. On one hand this has an affect on the reception of Rutebeuf's text compared to the initial *Noviaus Renarz*. Crucially, Rutebeuf's text is not a retelling of the narrative as is Gielee's piece at the beginning of the manuscript, rather it is a sarcastic transposition of Renart's morally questionable judgements onto the current state of the world, and most likely a protest to Louis IX's austere economic policies to fund the crusades.[65] To follow the first lines of the piece in Manuscript B, "Renart est mort. Renart [est] vif. Renart est ort, R[enart] est vilz. Et Renart regne."[66] Rutebeuf makes no overt reference to working from a previous text, neither does he offer any prescribed lesson for this story, contrary to Gielee in the opening text of this manuscript. For according to the latter, "qui le bien set dire le doit,"[67] which Gielee graciously does, "Renarz me plais que vous en die / une branche ou plusieurs pourront / prendre essample s'en eulz sens ont."[68] Functionally, this placement of Rutebeuf's Renart allows an additional sense of the manuscript's construction. Considering Stout's observation on the mockery of translatio and the co-reinforcing images of authority found in Rutebeuf's and Marie's

[64]Bahr and Gillespie, "Medieval English Manuscripts," 350.
[65]See Rutebeuf, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Michel Zink, 280.
[66]Paris, BNF fr. 1593, f. 102r.
[67]"Whoever knows how to speak well ought to."
[68]"It pleases me that I tell you of Renart / a part where many will be able to / follow the example, if they're sensible," Paris, Bnf fr. 1593 f. 2r.

depiction of the authorial process, the old literary world is turned upside down, the animals have overthrown the kingdom and have taken the power of the word for themselves.

Ethical Employment: Manuscript G

I would like to end my consideration of the variant forms Rutebeuf took within the manuscript tradition on a book that does less to overtly manipulate the role of authority than it does another formative parameter I highlighted in Chapter 1, that of ethics. This is not to say that Rutebeuf as a particularly empowered vernacular authority does not operate within manuscript G. Rather, it is through a hermeneutical treatment, one much more discursive than codicological, that the scribe employs his texts in this example. In this way, Rutebeuf's authority is established in a very different form from what we have seen in previous examples. The scribe of G uses Rutebeuf as a vernacular mirror to Latin authoritative texts, in this case translations of Marian miracles, and through an ethical treatment of his material, brings Rutebeuf closer to a seat of auctoritas than perhaps any other manuscript besides C.

Manuscript G, Paris BNF fr. 12483, was copied by a single scribe in the first half of the 14th century, most likely in Northern France. The 266 folia leaves contain miracles attributed to the Virgin followed by vernacular works, which are copied in two columns. Alternating blue and red initials with flourishes appear throughout the manuscript, including larger initials at the beginning of each text. Rubricated introductions and short explanatory notes, along with any necessary musical notation, further mark out transitions and serve as tools by the scribe to exert control over literary reception.

It may seem misplaced for me to make an authorizing claim for a book that contains only three pieces by Rutebeuf, one of whose attribution is openly contested by modern scholars.[69] Moreover, I intend to concentrate on the inclusion of a single

[69]Zink would argue two, as he suspects through comparison of poetic form and chronoligical speculation that the *Complainte de Sainte Église* should not be attributed to Rutebeuf. It must be mentioned that a longer form of this poem appears in the Rutebeuf "booklet" found in mansucript C. See Rutebeuf, *Œuvres Complètes*, 1001.

poem, *Li Mariages Rutebeuf*. The crucial difference in the scribal manipulation of Rutebeuf lies in the presentation of the text. Manuscript G consists of a codex written in a regular structure without variation, and can be considered as one production unit. Each section consists of two parts: an initial story of a miracle attributed to the Virgin, followed by one or more original vernacular lyrics, most commonly a dit, that the copyist associates with the preceding story. Thus the scribe presents the reader:

> Du roy arthus qui portoit e[n] son escu / L'ymage nostre dame. Ite[m] de la devocion / Saint loys a n[ost]re dame. Ite[m] une cha[n]son / de n[ost]re dame. It[em] un dit de l'inst[r]ucion du roy de f[ra]nce.[70] (BNF fr. 12483 fol. 52v)

Each piece can be connected with Mary's intervention in favour of King Arthur. Saint Louis' successes are equally due to his devotion to the Virgin and construct a clear model that all leaders should follow, lest they deviate from the examples set by revered figures. The scribe follows this with a song, leading the reader to associate it with a devotional Saint Louis may have sung less than a century earlier:

> De Saint loys dire vous voeil
> duquel n'eut boben ne orgeuil
> ne vanité de chançonnetes
> si com est en nos puceletes ...
> Leur chançons sont hoqueteries
> Trop mieux resamblent moqueries
> Quant saint lois chanter vouloit.[71](BNF. fr. 12483 fol. 53r)

After receiving the example of the song, the reader finishes with a story on the

[70] "Concerning King Arthur who wore on his shield / the image of Our Lady. Also the devotion / of Saint Louis to Our Lady. Also a song / about Our Lady. Also a dit concerning the education of the King of France."

[71] "I want to tell you about King Louis / who had neither arrogance nor hubris / nor the empty pretention of little songs / like what we find in our young women ... Their songs are just bickering / that seem too much like jokes / whenever Saint Louis wanted to sing."

education afforded to the kings of France, a thematic seal on this section as a comprehensible sense unit.

In the process of negotiating between his voice and the presentation of individual pieces, the scribe runs along a relatively murky border of the text. On an immediate reading, it is sometimes difficult to discern interventions in his voice from the pieces themselves. This is less relevant for *Li mariages* because of a clear transition, although the usage of *Quidem* and *Rosarius* play a role in demarcating the sources of texts throughout.[72] Another dimension of his role is in establishing the sense of an individual text and thus the rhetorical motivation behind its inclusion. To return to the example of Rutebeuf, *Li Mariages* is taken up by a scribe with a specific hermeneutic approach, rather than interacting with the manuscript overall by appearing in a closed series of works or bringing a set of thematic and rhetorical cohesion to the manuscript overall. In many Rutebeuf manuscripts, there is an overlapping duality between what is delineated as oral and textual modes of transmission. The codicological properties of manuscripts A and C support the image of a literate individual consulting them in the context of either private or public reading. Their decoration hints at a volume intended for possession by a more privileged aristocratic group, and the content provides a variety of material to be consulted for pious as well as profane occasions. The book could be opened to the necessary text, all of which are clearly rubricated and almost always marked with a large initial.

In such a way the scribe and (perhaps public) reader attempt to fulfill symmetrical roles in a mutually dependent relationship. The scribe must respect his source material, setting it out in a consultable format without degrading in his opinion the content itself, while at the same time considering the needs of his audience by including texts that would be of possible interest to the reader or listener. Consequently, the reader's rendition is expected to stay faithful to the original while nonetheless fulfilling his audience's expectation.[73] An emphatic preference towards orality is fur-

[72]Stout connects the usage of these two terms to a subtle recognition of differing authorial processes, where rosarius glosses the compiler's creation and quidem signals work from a recognised authority. Stout, "Une vie en plusieurs exemplaires," 51.

[73]See Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book*, 97-99. There are clues throughout the Rutebeuf corpus, as well as the rest of extant vernacular lyric from the period, that neither the performer nor the

ther corroborated by the performative mode inherent to several pieces, such as the *Miracle de Théophile*, as well as several internal comments by Rutebeuf on how his audience has come to know his material.

Manuscript G appears to break with the oral, performative lexicon of the Rutebeuf corpus that is often emphasized by scholars and presents an individual dit as a source text worthy of proximity with a Marian miracle, in this case to provide a *mise en scène* for a moral demonstration of marriage. In fact, considered in the context of manuscripts A and C, manuscript G emerges as a particularly apt source for situating Rutebeuf within a set of literary practices that are best identified not with orality or literacy, but with aurality. Joyce Coleman has done significant work in developing this framework, warning of the theoretical weakness in a linear oral-literate evolutionary model and the "fallacy of equating the presence of books with the extinction of orality."[74] Manuscripts A and C situate Rutebeuf's work within a set of readership practices that could include a group hearing pieces read aloud equally as well as an individual reading for private consultation. This extended into Rutebeuf's compositions, where a variation with regards to transmission is equally perceptible, mirroring the play on authority that Latinate authorship allows him to carry out on his name. The title of "dit" implies a level of orality, albeit different from the *chant*. As Rutebeuf reminds his audience in several pieces, his task is to rhyme, "rimer m'estuet de Brichemer."[75] This is a common way of referring to lyrical composition, be it sung or written, as Dante provides the first evidence of a vernacular writer referring to himself as engaging in poetria. In many cases, like other vernacular authors such as Chrétien de Troyes, Rutebeuf expects his audience to hear the piece, "quar bien avez oï le conte,"[76] "si orroiz ja."[77] Spilling over into the practical circulation

scribe were universally adept at remaining faithful to their sources : as an example, the variants of *Li Mariages Rutebeuf* contain small changes throughout, from rewritings of lines to the changing of dates, and *Le Miracle de Théophile* appears in the form of a narrative and separate prayer in manuscript C.

[74]Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), 21.

[75]"Dite de Brichemer," *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Zink, v. 1 950.

[76]"La Complainte Rutebeuf," *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Zink, v. 3 318.

[77]"Sainte Elyzabel," *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Zink, v. 196 648.

of his works, this vocabulary, along with preconceived notions regarding vernacular compositions, appear to have led to a certain amount of confusion among scribes, and perhaps within orally circulating versions of his work as well. In Manuscript A's version of Sainte Elyzabel, Rutebeuf shortens his introduction lest his audience become bored, "ne vos avroie hui tout contei" (v. 1976) whereas for manuscript C, he will not have "tout chanté." This has added to modern confusion over the mode of oral transmission: were some pieces sung, or were they all read? Certainly the lack of any manuscripts that include melodies along with his dits suggests that if they were ever sung, it was not the general expectation.

The greater erudition more immediately perceptible in manuscript G - at least relative to A and C - along with its creation in the 14th century, often marked as a formative period for the birth of the author, may lend credence to a transition from oral to literate practices. Yet, on the contrary, it is more likely an index of the flexibility that practices amongst the vernacular public in the late 13th and early 14th centuries permitted for writers such as Rutebeuf. The self-awareness, and at times certainly ironic tone, of manuscript G within the context that I will shortly explore of an ethical treatise do not provide a priori conditions for delegating Rutebeuf's audience to literate readers.[78] If we expand our consideration from manuscript analysis, the varied genres within which pieces ascribed to Rutebeuf fall, from personal and hagiographic dits to performative theatre, testify to a wide breadth of flexibility in receiving and circulating his works. Manuscript G not only bridges these set of practices that can be collected under aurality, but it provides a circular framework moving from miraculous events to more universally known contemporary experiences that resonate with a large illiterate as well as literate audience. Rutebeuf's pieces interact markedly well within an aural literary culture, easily (re-)packaged by the scribe and the reader.

Marriage and Ethics

Interestingly, the scribe appears to instill in the reader a level of reticence, if

[78] "Thus oral cultures, procedures, and texts seem capable of individuals, self-awareness, irony, metalanguage, ficitonality . . . " Joyce, *Public Reading*, 11,

not all-out rejection, of marriage. Following a discussion of earthly cures to bodily pains compared to relief provided by divine intervention,[79] the opening miracle story concerns the troubled birth of a woman from "Soissonnois", and dramatizes a consequence of the Fall of Man:

> Trois sepmainnes entierement
> Pour avoir enfant traveilla
> . . .
> Comment avec homme couchier
> Oze fame apres tel [douleur]
> Molt est grant, ce dit le sauveur.[80](BNF fr. 12483 fol. 186v)

Proceeding through the story, we learn that it is woman's inability to remember experiences from the past, and their concentration on the present, that they continue through birth, "ce qu'el voit e[n] present convoite / q[ue] li avint l'autre sepmainne / de remembrer poi[n]t ne se pai[n]ne."[81] Mary's intervention comes in the final childbirth, as she assists in the delivery of children - averting the mother's death - by seemingly ejecting three stones from the woman that were blocking the birth canal. The narrator turns this experience (as the children, while baptized, died shortly after) into a warning for young girls: "Pucele, pren donc de toy garde . . . / tu te mes en trop grant servage / quant tu te mes en mariage."[82]

Rutebeuf's inclusion after this serves as a mirror to the pain suffered by women in their duties as wives, as the scribe subsequently begins his transitional introduction to *Li Mariages*, "Li homs aussi que fame mainne / jamés il ne sera sans painne."[83]

[79]Unfortunately the manuscript is heavily damaged in certain parts: not only is the outer edge of each bifolium trimmed, probably by a later owner, but an intervening page in this particular miracle is almost entirely illegible from smudging that seems to be due to water. The connection between the opening and the final story of the birth is difficult to read.

[80]"For three full weeks / she worked to birth the child . . . how does a woman dare / to sleep with a man after such pain / it [the pain] is so great, says the lord."

[81]"She yearns for what she sees in the present, / whatever happened to her another week / she cares little to remember."

[82]"So, young girl, be on your guard / you place yourself in far too great servitude / when you put yourself into mariage."

[83]"The man as well, led by a woman / will never be without suffering," BNF fr. 12483 f. 187r.

This is not a physical pain, however - rather, the husband who has taken a disagreeable wife will suffer, "courroucié au soir et au main."[84] Rutebeuf's dit is thus a fitting example for the scribe, as after his marriage the poet "vousist miex estre en biere."[85] *Li Mariages* equally continues the thematisation of memory found in the previous Marian miracle. The woman suffered the pains of childbirth because of inattentive planning and insufficient recall. Rutebeuf's writing can be conversely employed as a responsive panacea, for the male audience, in the form of a memory device, setting down onto a more permanent medium the material proof of the consequences that marriage may bring. In *La Complainte Rutebeuf*, which is often found in close promiximity to *Li Mariages* in manuscripts that contain both texts, the narrator moreover interacts with the latter poem in a way that establishes a kind of recall function, as "Ne covient pas je vos raconte / . . . en queil meniere / je pris ma femme darreniere."[86] Through the continuity established between these two texts, the scribe has set up an intertwined framework for reception that binds together properties of authorship with interpretation.

While the connection to the previous tale is humorous, this move encapsulates a serious ethical framework in order to establish authority, or at the very least signal a text's rhetorical usefulness. The scribe is certainly participating in a hermeneutic manipulation to control the text's reception. Even though his introduction seems to pick out an obvious theme from *Li Mariages*, he could have equally prescribed a reading which concentrates on the social and religious isolation that sin engenders within avaricious individuals, a suffering which Rutebeuf prays to the "dieus de Marie" to relieve. Through an act of ethical interpretation, the scribe elevates the value of Rutebeuf's work, removing it from the unique sphere of sincere testimony, to one of a more generalized application.

In research on this manuscript's use of Rutebeuf, the scribe's concentration on the veracity of personal testimony has been understood as early proof for an established

[84] "Belittled night and day."

[85] "Would rather have been put into [a barrel of] beer." That is to say, killed.

[86] "It's not necessary that I tell you / . . . the way in which / I recently married my wife." "La Complainte Rutebeuf," *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Zink, 318 vv. 1-5.

biographical link perceived between the narrator and the poet.[87] This conclusion is invited by the scribe's presentation of the story: "Ruthebuef trop bien le tesmoigne." The biographical treatment is further reinforced, "il de soy mesmes ainsi dist / En un dite que il en fis." (fol. 187r).[88] I find such phrasing more reminiscent of the weight that a Latinate auctor brought to a declaration, however. It is all the more fitting for Rutebeuf to fulfill the role of a source of knowledge within a manuscript that brings Latinate miracle tradition closer to vernacular readers and speakers. With regards to mediating reception, the poet's supposed experience becomes "relativized" for the audience;[89] it is not only an example, but also a hermeneutic transformation into an exemplum. The medieval audience is not to be chiefly concerned with a purely biographical reading, however much the scribe emphasizes the piece's sincere provenance. Rather, its universalizing application as an ethical lesson takes precedence. The scribe's biographical presentation is not surprising when his vocabulary is considered in the context of 13th century discursive treatment of the biblical auctores. Certainly, the scribe does not accord Rutebeuf the same kind of authority in knowledge as the writers of the Gospels - the poet's work is not a reflection of the word of God. Yet the scribe undertakes a symmetrical process in emphasising the contribution of individual experience within a greater framework of the veracity and usefulness of a given text. His system of reception and interpretation, mediated by developing Latin commentary practices, allows a valorisation of Rutbeuf's poetry through recourse to the value of testimony. It is not to learn about Rutebeuf's life that the scribe takes up this text - rather, the semiotic link that exists between writer and intention is transposed onto a reception framework that explicity orients the text toward an appropriation by the reader.

[87] See Rutebeuf, *Œuvres Complètes*, 35.
[88] "He tells it so about himself / in a dit that he made."
[89] Stout, "Une Vie en plusieurs exemplaires," 50.

2.3 A *poète maudit*?

Like earlier scribes, modern researchers have positioned the medieval vernacular author in many ways in relation to modern literary culture, from an initial hint of the 19th century romantic writer[90] to a crucial figure on the threshold of converging social and cultural trends.[91] Rutebeuf's slippery identity is generally unremarkable for medievalists, often accustomed to learning about the author of their objects of study through internal narrative evidence. A more substantial challenge posed by his corpus, and one that has created somewhat of a burden for modern editors, is the amount of thematic variation in his works. From secular concerns in administrative quarrels, seen in the recurring anti-Dominican motif, through vivid personal lamentations on fate and isolation, to religious works destined to animate a vernacular public, medieval copyists ascribed a wide range of texts to a single name. This has confronted modern editors and researchers with two principle challenges: settling on an appropriate format to best adapt modern publishing standards to such a fluid corpus, and grappling with the function of the ascribed sobriquet Rutebuef.

I have mentioned the editions of Zink as well as Faral and Bastin without properly situating their undertaking within the wider scope of modern approaches to this rich set of works. The process of reconstituting Rutebeuf's writings into a modern single-author collection dates back to the 19th century, when advances in philology and textual criticism, along with concurrent trends in assembling a national literary canon, led to a blossoming interest in medieval éditions de textes. Achille Jubinal offered an annotated tome to the public in 1874, proclaiming in his introduction that Rutebeuf "a amené la langue d'oïl à son point culminant de perfection et de progrès."[92] Additionally, Jubinal understood this singular poet's work as a reflection of wider 13th century historical and social conditions, "[le reflet] des prejugés, des passions, du langage, des connaissances de son époque."[93] This editor's response

[90] Gustave Cohen, "Rutebeuf, l'anc être des poètes maudits," *Études Classiques* 21 (1953), 1-18.
[91] Greene, *The Medieval Author*, 4.
[92] *Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf, trouvère du XIIIe siècle*, Tome Premier, ed. Achille Jubinal (Paris: Paul Daffis, 1874), v.
[93] *Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. Jubinal, vi.

to "Why read Rutebeuf?" was fairly straightforward: such a resource provided the modern reader with a rich archetype to peer into the generalized experience of a professional vernacular poet in 13th-century France. A supposedly Parisian poet fulfilled contemporary expectations for cultural and literary lessons. After all, for Jubinal, 13th-century Paris was an eternal symbol of French cultural production: "J'insiste . . . que Paris, alors comme aujourd'hui, était pour la langue, ainsi que pour le reste, le foyer central du bon goût et du progrès."[94]

Jubinal's editorial practices followed an organisational standard that would endure until Zink's reshuffling over a century later. In order to confront the dits presented as a unit, albeit in differing orders, in three principal manuscripts, along with pieces scattered among approximately a dozen others, he reorganized the fluid corpus and published it according to thematic categories that represent a completely novel way of presenting Rutebeuf's works. Jubinal's system resulted in five sections: pieces composed by Rutebeuf concerning himself, pieces relative to major figures/characters and to great events, satirical pieces, fabliaux and contes, and allegorical and religious poems.[95] This essentially constitutes an act of appropriation similar to that of medieval scribes who encoded their own preconceptions and goals in the process of disseminating Rutebeuf's works. Jubinal saw the medieval poet's work as fitting into discrete categories of separate objects, which together testified to the gamut of material that the 13th century poet addressed. His testimony is purely sincere, to be taken at face value: Rutebeuf is "un fils purement parisien, comme Villon, Molière, et Boccace."[96] A piece such as Li Mariages Rutebeuf, which has found differing interpretations over the past century as to its accuracy or connection to a singular historical subject, is not just a simple fable invented to evoke pity amongst his readers - Rutebeuf is a poet through whom the personal experience of the 13th century becomes accessible.

Published almost a century later, the 1969 edition of Edmond Faral and Julia Bastin reveals a collaborative effort committed to a close scrutiny of the overall unity

[94] *Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. Jubinal, xviii.
[95] *Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. Jubinal, lvi.
[96] *Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. Jubinal, xxiii.

of the oeuvre as well as philological lessons offered by the manuscripts themselves. Zink devotes a section of his introduction to their unequalled erudition in both codicological description and grammatical study of their chosen exemplar.[97] They do not directly describe the factors that pushed them to direct a new edition of Rutebeuf - rather, this reasoning is spread out implicitly through their presentation of the manuscripts, the author, and his "historical circumstances." They devote 33 pages to close-readings of the attributed dits, unfolding what they clearly conceive of as a historical subject through several techniques of biographical criticism: *son nom*, *son origine et ses résidences*, *sa formation et ses connaissanes littéraires*, *l'homme et sa condition sociale*, *ses idées et ses tendances*, and finally, *les caractères de son talent*.[98] While Jubinal pointed towards the wealth of historical, academic, and societal knowledge stored in Rutebeuf's lyrics, Faral and Bastin followed this notion to its ultimate end and read his corpus as an individual subject sincerely and faithfully cast onto parchment. This introduction is succinctly clinched by a historical review of the period, providing an appropriate hermeneutic framework for filtering the historical, speaking subject out of the poet's obscure persona.

For Faral and Bastin, the process of discerning every minute piece of data concerning Rutebeuf's experience as a poet, taken from literary techniques and his principal materia, implies a continued repartition of manuscript-ordered presentations of his works into independent thematic units. This method was an editorial recourse to solve the issue of a lack of a single, authoritative manuscript that supported the editor's agreed-upon corpus of Rutebeuf lyric. While three manuscripts preserve his poetry in more or less unified sections, what have been termed A, B, and C share neither a set number of works (respectively containing 33, 26, and 50 ascribed to Rutebeuf) nor a strictly defined corpus.[99] As an example of the challenges this presented, *Le Miracle de Théophile*, a well-known piece to modern researchers for its place in medieval theatrical composition, is only a single unit in mansucript A, whereas C divides it into two independent pieces[100] and B omits it entirely. The

[97] Rutebeuf, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Zink, 37.

[98] *Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf*, vol. 1, ed. Faral and Bastin, 32-64.

[99] Paris, BNF fr. 837, BNF fr. 1593, and BNF fr. 1635.

[100] The scribe puts Theophile's prayer after the *Reptentance Rutebeuf* and entitles it the *Repen-*

exigencies of a critical edition demanded that the editors publish a concise set of works, thus Faral and Bastin chose a base manuscript (A) and supplemented its holdings from the other two. Certainly this creates a problem for the order of the pieces in their edition. Faral and Bastin recognised the possibility of following the organisation set out by scribes, a "procédé souvent paresseux." Their conception of the work of the scribe and compiler convinced them of this methodology's dearth of intellectual rigor:

> Aussi bien est-il clair, comme on le voit par une étude des faits, que les auteurs des collections représentées par ces manuscrits, recueillant les pieces au hasard de la rencontre, ne se sont astreints à l'observation d'aucun plan.[101]

Armstrong and Kay's concept of ideological knowledge proves fruitful even when applied to contemporary practices, as it reveals the underlying assumptions displayed in Faral and Bastin's methodology. For certainly they depict medieval compilers as slapdash workers who fail to measure before cutting, who bring together separate recueils uniquely based on ephemeral interests. However, compared to the somewhat more developed reflection they placed on other editorial possibilities - chronological ordering and thematic grouping - they reject the manuscript's organization with two sentences. The scribe is not just careless: his practices cannot, a priori, represent a repository of knowledge for the current intended audience of the edition. The poet as principal creator and mediator of meaning continues to be an unquestioned assumption for Faral and Bastin.

Published in 2001, the newest edition of Rutebeuf's work overseen by Michel Zink represents a substantial break from previous interpretations and presentations of this writer's oeuvre. While Faral and Bastin's grammatical and lexical studies remain authoritative, Zink's effort demonstrates substantial progress made in critical theory since the late 1960s as well as continued research into Rutebeuf's works. His

tance Théophile, creating his own parallelism between the poem's subject, object, and creator; see Rutebeuf, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Zink, 32.

[101] *Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf*, vol. 1, ed. Faral and Bastin, 220.

edition undertakes two major breaks with Faral and Bastin, choosing a different base manuscript (C) as well as deferring to chronological studies to order the dits. Whereas Faral and Bastin favored A for the supposed faithfulness of its scripta to their conjectures for Rutebeuf's origins as well as for its overall homogeneity, having been copied in one go by a sole hand,[102] Zink opted for the breadth offered by C. He also accorded a significant amount of weight to the work done by Michel-Marie Dufeil in drawing chronological details from the individual dits:

> Seuls certains poèmes qui se rattachent à l'actualité de leur temps sont datables de façon certaine . . . On peut estimer, cependant, que l'intérêt et le relief que l'œuvre prend sous cet éclairage valent bien que l'éditeur coure le risque - assuré - de se voir chercher querelle sur la datation de tel ou tel poème.[103]

Zink does not devote an extended amount of time to specifying what *l'intérêt et le relief* of a chronological order amount to. In his introduction, he distances his interpretations from the previously strict attempts to insist on a direct lineage between Rutebeuf the individual, the *poète maudit*, and the figure projected in his poetry, "Rapprochements illusoires? Probablement. Lecteur anachronique? Évidemment."[104] Rather, Zink situates Rutebeuf's corpus within its historical framework, devoting his first chapter to events that the latter's work "echoes," an effort to situate the development of his life and career within a series of reference points. Notably, Zink alludes to the many fallacious conclusions to which his biographical reconstruction may lead - however, by following the historical overview with a poetic analysis of a wide range of works accepted by modern criticism to be of Rutebeuf, he defends this approach as grounded in a firm a posteriori justification.[105]

It would seem at first glance that Zink pushes the limits of autobiographical analysis even further with Rutebeuf - after all, he expresses a great deal of gratitude

[102] *Œuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf*, ed. Faral and Bastin, 221.
[103] Rutebeuf, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Zink, 40.
[104] Rutebeuf, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Zink, 5.
[105] Rutebeuf, *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Zink, 6.

towards Dufeil's work in revealing, and even reconstituting, a long-lost chronological order that reflects the developing tastes, concerns, and techniques of a 13th-century poet. However, in a similar manner to Zumthor's repositioning of emphasis from the writer onto the objectified poetry,[106] Zink's methodology does more to expound the sense and signification of each individual piece as well as the oeuvre as a series made of interrelated, interacting dits. The target of analysis is thus shifted from the creator to the creation - to use Zumthor's analogy, Zink's chronological approach is an attempt to piece together the "broken mirror" that medieval texts resemble, reflecting the overlapping layers of meanings that they have acquired over time.[107] Thematic groupings become inaccurate and arbitrary as it sorts pieces into disjointed units - and at times separate volumes - that must rather be brought together in order to understand the conditions of their production as well as their functioning within the corpus.

It appears, then, that Zink has killed Rutebeuf. This is not to say that he denies the historical existence of "a" Rutebeuf - on the contrary, the poet's corpus becomes a timeline reflecting ever-changing concerns. However, the poet becomes a secondary feature to explain the anomaly of the pastiche of topics and genres, as a framework for situating a confusing set of personal poems that reveal every suffering of the writer but paradoxically leave few hints of his actual life. It may be more appropriate to say that Zink has dealt Rutebeuf a deathblow, and that this edition marks a reassessment from the poète maudit to the texts filed under his name as principal objects of study. His decision to refer to the F.-B. edition for linguistic study is equally pertinent - while it would have considerably expanded the amount of necessary research, the field of philology often implicates the creation of an individualized author.[108] Zink's approach cannot be solely attributed to a singular development of a radically new theoretical approach by one individual - instead, it reflects a general shift in the target of epistemological inquiry by medievalists since the F.-B. edition was published in 1969.

[106]Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, 84.
[107]Zumthor, *Essai de poétique médiévale*, 95.
[108]Stephen G. Nichols, "The Medieval 'Author': An Idea Whose Time Hadn't Come?" *The Medieval Author*, 79.

Virginie Green has afforded medievalists a privileged role in the debate over the function of the author in literary theory. In this perspective, theorists such as Zumthor, who reduced the role of the author in favor of the dominant text, "anticipated" coming polemic exchanges over subjective expression. The nature of academic perceptions of the late medieval author in the 1950s somewhat softened researchers' expectations: 14th- and 15th-century works, which pointed towards externally documented authors in the true sense, were perceived as a "decline" from 12th- and 13th-century masterpieces, whose writers imbued their creations with a sophisticated level of anonymity. Rutebeuf fits into the grey area of an author whose function has not been precisely outlined. Certainly early editors such as Jubinal saw him as a clear precursor to later romantic poets, suffering in self-expression. But Greene's observation on the impact that the death of the author had on medievalists is more accurate in the case of evolving receptions of Rutebeuf since the mid-twentieth century: it seems absurd to kill a person who has never been clearly perceived.[109]

While continual reassessments of the function of the medieval author in relation to his work in the past century have led to various conclusions, from reconstructions of a historical subject to fully objectified readings that treat a text as essentially an anonymous product of a greater literary culture, the use of the name Rutebeuf in modern scholarship seems to constitute an epistemological bridge between medieval and modern readers and reception theory. As Foucault wrote:

> Un nom d'auteur n'est pas simplement un élément dans un discours (qui peut être sujet ou complément, qui peut être remplacé par un pronom, etc.); il exerce par rapport aux discours un certain rôle.[110]

For earlier editors, "Rutebeuf" almost single-handedly embodied medieval authorship, and they constructed a diteur as an earlier participant in a lineage of French literary figures. His name grouped together a nationalist canonical corpus that was unified through its expression of a speaking historical subject. To know that *Li Dis*

[109]Greene, "What Happened to Medievalists after the Death of the Author?" *The Medieval Author*, 211-213.

[110]Foucault, "Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?," *Dits et écrits: 1954-1988* (Paris: Gallimard, 1994), 798.

dou pet au vilain and *La Repentance Rutebeuf* originated from the same writer allowed an empty space to be filled in by a modern reader, one that would encompass the entirety of a 13th-century individual's personal experience. "Rutebeuf" as a designation plays an equally formative roll in modern scholarship, despite the trend to privilege significance lifted from close literary and textual analysis. It unites a body of works into a certain structure for identifying and mediating the portrayal of the self in a vernacular work, one that is opposed systematically to Latinate authorities, preceding lyric composers, and later medieval writers. For a researcher to discover that Le Chevalier de la charrette is truly the work of Rutebeuf, a name that is still considered as attached to a unique individual, would completely undermine this system of reception. Regardless of F.-B. and Zink's claims on the lack of significance in scribal manipulations and appropriations of Rutebeuf's work, his name functioned in an equally meaningful apparatus that was susceptible to conscious and unconscious revision.

The notions of authorship practiced by 13th-century vernacular scribes appear to be a particularly apt domain to apply Foucault's methodology of discursive analysis. On the surface, they provide an intriguing opportunity for crossing his theoretical description of discursive relations with the application of his thought that is demonstrated in *Qu'est-ce qu'un auteur?*, resulting in an expansion of his archeology's engagement with the author-function. Following a more profound course of description, the area outside of semiotic designation that discourses operate seems to be physically manifested by the elusive character of mid-13th-century scribal presentations of vernacular works. There is a marked lack of designation of authorial functions in non-Latinate manuscripts for this period, no available prescriptive guide for navigating who is a diteur, a compilator, or a scriptor. Therefore, the only space that can be explored by the modern reader is the codex, an object that operated within, and subsequently demonstrates, discourses governing contemporary vernacular writers. This is a manifestation of the "more" that Foucault sought to describe: "mais ce qu'ils [les discours] font, c'est plus que d'utiliser des signes pour désigner des choses. C'est ce plus qui les rend irréductibles à la langue et à la parole."[111]

[111]Foucault, *Archéologie du savoir*, 67.

2.4 Whither Rutebeuf scholarship?

The layout of manuscripts, the organization of works, the different ways in which multiple scribes handled the same corpus of texts manifest vernacular authority, and a description of these processes allows the space to appear that exists between Latin concepts of auctoritas and perceptions of personal authority developed by vernacular writers. They are not mutually exclusive, inherently disconnected ways of receiving the creator of knowledge. As I already explored in the first chapter, convergent trends by Latin commentators in the 13th century had valorized the role of the causa efficiens, the force that acted upon an object and caused it to come into being. Due to the paucity of commentaries and extended rubrication of vernacular lyric in the period surrounding Rutebeuf's compositions, a comparison of the extant manuscripts containing a series of pieces attributed to the same author has the greatest potential for revealing the grid that varied author functions construct. This is far from a project to unify all of the scribes' actions under the umbrella of a general reception theory; rather, my intent has been to highlight the relative flexibility that contemporary discourse afforded the scribe, avoiding a move "de la multiplicité superficielle à l'unité profonde."[112] One concise theory or set of assumptions cannot be employed to explore vernacular textual hermeneutics.

Rutebeuf inhabits a more uncertain space in the framework of composition and transmission. The lack of precision regarding oral transmission is combined with the inherent textuality that certain pieces present, by which I mean explicit recognition of a book culture. It is critical to acknowledge medieval aurality and how distinctions between the written and spoken word were blurred: not only did reading often involve speaking aloud the text - be it in private or public - but major concepts such as the *ars bene loquentis* implied the teaching of good written rhetorical strategies. Rutebeuf seems to be more active in manipulating this grey area in order to control the reading of his texts as more serious pieces of commentary, taking full advantage of the biblical metaphor "Lingua mea calamus velociter scribentis." The manuscript tradition of his works may simply represent scattered repositories intended for further copying, to

[112]Foucault, *Archéologie du savoir*, 101.

facilitate the spread of the pieces to other copyists across a wider geographic area. No codex with any embellishment besides rubricated initials survives, unlike some of the richly decorated Adam de la Halle manuscripts. Parts of his corpus nevertheless reflect a strong grounding in literate culture. His hagiographic works, namely *La Vie de Sainte Marie* as well as that of *Sainte Elyzabel*, necessitate literacy and, perhaps, comparative synthesis between several manuscripts. The authority of the livre, a trait that I brought out in my approach to Manuscript B, is explicitly used by Rutebeuf in one of his shorter translations, the *Dit d'Aristote*. Aristotle, of course, already lends a large amount of credibility to a compiler's work, even if Rutebeuf is working through Gautier de Châtillon's own adaptation. He opens the dit with a precise description of his source, something that is not found in any other piece, as he found it "en son livre versefié / enz el premier quaier lié."[113] His familiarity with manuscript culture is reinforced by the utilitas of his source, in which Aristotle "enseigne [à Alixandre] et si li fait entendre ... comment il doit el siecle vivre" (vv. 1-5).[114]

The obscure nature of Rutebeuf's composition and life that many modern scholars express does not appear to be a historical accident. Engaging with Latinate culture provided a two-fold paradox in attempts to assess the quality of his authorship. The game around his sobriquet, while providing a humorous depiction of the author that may be useful in convincing his patrons to favor him, allows a complex manipulation of his literary persona that many vernacular writers of the time did not possess. Moreover, this is combined with an unstable depiction of his work: is he, at best, a satirical commentator for an illiterate vernacular public, or do his compositions have a deeper grounding in erudite learning? Within the context of 13th-century Old French lyric, the intersection of two very different cultural discursive treatments of authorship within his works is evidence for a complex network of shared literary conceptions with Latinity.

[113]"In his book in verse / within the first joined quire." "Le Dit d'Aristote," *Œuvres Complètes*, ed. Zink, vv. 3-4 956.

[114]"[He] teaches [Alexander] and makes him understand ... how he must live in the world."

Chapter 3

Adam de la Halle

Amours m'ont si douchement
Navré que nul mal ne sent:
Si servirai bonnement
Amours et men douch ami
A cui me rent
Et fac de men cuer present,
Ne jamais pour nul tourment
Que j'aie n'iert autrement,
Ains voeil user mon jouvent
En amer loialment. [1]

As a creative figure whose work overwhelmingly survives attached to musical notation, Adam de la Halle is at odds with Rutebeuf, evincing a more immediately perceptible orality. Paradoxically, modern readers must defer to a purely visual experience of Adam's orality, taking in careful scribal notation of melody and pitch. Modern scholars, however, see more in this visual codification than a simple repository of melody. For some, the transposition of the speaking subject from the writer

[1] "Love has hurt me / so sweetly that I feel no pain:/ I will serve as one ought to / Love and my sweet [darling] / To whom I give myself / And make a gift of my heart, / And never, regardless of the pain / That I suffer, will it be otherwise, / Rather I wish to spend my youth / loyally loving." Chanson XV, vv. 1-10

to the singer entails a general objectification of the chanson, both in context and in content.[2] Adam de la Halle acknowledges this form of transition often, and even depends upon it, as an appreciative composer, "Faites que mes cans oïs / y soit et dis!"[3] This is nevertheless *mes cans*, a possessed object that leaves his hands but is never irretrievably separated from his identity. To disregard this orality would certainly be ignorant, but any serious attempt to dislodge it from the same, if not similar, framework of composition as Rutebeuf's dits would represent an even greater mistake. After all, many of Rutebeuf's pieces imply a certain performativity, and medieval manuscripts attest to a relative level of comfort in juxtaposing what are now considered - in the critical editions - clearly delineated genres.[4]

Before moving on to a deeper analysis of authoritative discourse within Adam's work, I have selected a verse from one of his chansons that demonstrates the topics he addressed and provides a concise framework for introducing my approach. Adam is clearly an emotive figure, "sweetly" hurt by love in the lyrical tradition. Nonetheless he endures to serve "amours et men douch ami," a line that connects the beloved object with the psychological pain. The existence of amours as a character, although

[2]Paul Zumthor, *Langue, texte, énigme* and *Essai de poétique médiévale.* Céline Ceccheto provides a clear summary of the "distinctive traits of medieval lyric" provided by Pierre Bec, mainly "absence of subjectivity, orality, music", and looks for the "cachettes du jeu" within the text; see Célin Cecchetto, "La Chanson, ou l'actualité des trouvères", *Les Chansons de langue d'oïl: l'art des trouvères* (Valenciennes: Presses universitaires de Valenciennes, 2008), 40. Hult has alluded to this process in the primacy that 13th century discourse afforded in the truth-value of prose composition, which consequently problematizes the epistemology of tracing the enunciation to the writer in lyric; see *Knowing poetry*, 2.

[3]"Make it so that my song / be heard and be said !" Chanson XXIV, vv. 53-54. All citations from Adam de la Halle, unless otherwise noted, are taken from Adam de la Halle, *Œuvres complètes* (Paris: Libraire générale française, 1995).

[4]This is not to say that a recognition of genres was absent for 13th century composers or compilators, as Callahan indicates when discussing the model provided by the anonymous *Doctrina de compondre dictats.* The medieval genre was nevertheless an open categorization, although the play in its conception between the writer and the scribe, the latter introducing the filter of academic practices, is a fruitful target for research; see Christopher Callahan, "Pour une histoire de la notion de genre dans le lyrisme de langue d'oïl: le témoignage des chansonniers," *La Chanson de trouvères: Formes, registres, genres* (Valenciennces: Presses universitaires de Valenciennes, 2012), 51-60. Other evidence for the fluidity of genres has been demonstrated within the context of the ballade beginning with Adam de la Halle, see Robert Mullally, "The Ballade Before Machaut," *Zeitschrift für franzÃűsische Sprache und Literatur* 104.3 (1994).

only hinted at here, is consistently elided throughout Adam's songs with the character towards which he orients his desire, the sought-after dame. As he moves onto the second stanza in this section, amours disappears - barely resurfacing at the end in the guise of the act she permits, "en amer loialment" - and is replaced by the lady. Curiously, the latter retains the subject of the phrase only by virtue of proximity. Yet the search for the lady is much more than a young man chasing the object of his affection - it serves as a locus in which Adam can dramatize the reciprocal act of experiential teaching and learning that takes place within amorous songs. This representation of the transmission of knowledge, as well as the relative narrative absence of other characters' expression, interact within a framework that produces an enduring authoritative foundation for Adam's speech.

3.1 "Ex visione et immoderata cogitatione": Adam's practices

The melodic quality of Adam's compositions must not be exaggerated to suggest a field of works grouped within a single homogenous genre, a view which is likely to be reinforced by a reading of a chansonnier as a relatively unifying act of production. Rather, the *jeux*, *motets*, *rondeaux*, as well as *chansons* of Adam attest to a wide-ranging interest by the writer in monophony as well as polyphony in the presentation of voice. Throughout these various forms, the figure of Adam as creative progenitor is remarkably stable. Certainly this follows from his chansons, which dramatize his activity as a lover, as well as the motets and jeux that revolve around public performance in Arras. Nonetheless, the treatment of the relationship between the traditional object of desire of the chanson and the lyrical seeker is considerably more nuanced, and even in narratively unstable forms such as the jeu or the motet, his presence, above and beyond the performing singer, is a discursive necessity.

Within Adam's monophonic works, the act of singing receives the almost physical mise en scène of the romantic quest and provides a literary space to treat the pursuit of knowledge. Borrowing from already established lyric tropes, the song initially

functions as a cathartic exercise, "Car quant plus sueffre, et plus me plaiste que soie / jolis et chantans" (Chanson IX, vv.5-6).[5] Love is an overwhelming experience, and thankfully one that can be attenuated through musical expression. Yet it is not simply a self-reflective process limited to bringing enlightenment, or at the very least greater understanding, to the singer alone. Singing implicates a certain amount of revelation, "De cuer pensieu et desirrant / Vient qui bouche muet a parler / Car ele sert de chou moustrer / Que cuers vait premiers devisant" (Chanson XXXII, vv.1-4).[6] By the very nature of performativity, the singer functions in a tripartite framework, involving the self, the object, and the audience. While the topicality of the song revolves around the lady and the nature of love, the composer operates in the principal role as the relater of truth, cast in the guise of experience. Love is the more overt matter of Adam's songs, which guide the audience through his experiences and meditations. It is in the latter that love can be perceived as a figurative topos for a more subtle treatment of poetic composition and the attainment of knowledge.

Despite this epistemological undercurrent, the expressive subject behind the chansons does not deliver a straightforward didactic treatise. Following one reading, Adam paradoxically distances himself from ownership over the material that he produces. It is jealousy and love that motivate his heart to lyrical expression, two intertwined factors that absolve him of responsibility for the repercussions of his words, "Qu'en cuer n'a point de raison / Ou Amours met sa saisine" (Chanson XXIII vv. 12-13).[7] It does not seem, however, that the composer is sincerely expressing a lack of control over haphazard utterances. Along with the repetition of a familiar amorous motif, these claims seem to alternate in a cycle of complaints followed by relatively more lucid reflections. In the subsequent song, Adam justifies the pains inflicted by love, and proceeds to rationalize the experience. The process of moving through desire, rejection, and apparent defeat is an integral path in the lover's education. Connecting the piece with the previous complaint, Adam admits that "Mout

[5] "For when I suffer more / it's all the more so pleasing for me / to be happy and singing."

[6] "With a pensive and yearning heart / my mouth is moved to speak / because it serves to show what / the heart forms first."

[7] "Because the heart loses rationality / Once Love takes hold." As well as "Jalousie est me voisine / Par coi en vostre occoison / Me fait dire desraison: / Si m'en donnés decepline!" vv. 46-49.

plus se paine Amours de moi esprendre / Qu'ele ne fait de mes maus allegier" (Chanson XXIV vv.1-2).[8] Yet he goes on to gloss the subject, as "Et qui tout chou n'ose de cuer emprendre / Dignes ne puet estre d'avoir loier, / Ains veut se dame engingnier et sousprendre" (Chanson XXIV, vv. 10-12).[9] An apology for jealous words curiously seems to operate as a defense that links the two pieces together. It is intriguing that this move comes at the end of a complaint song, as the following piece, although beginning with a tacit recognition of amorous suffering, proceeds to resolve them as a more necessary and universal experience for the lover. While Adam claims that this is not a lesson or reproach for the lady, it certainly appears to be one for the audience.

There is other evidence for conscious intertextual composition in the first series of chansons in which two songs can function as exemplum followed by commentarium. In the first chanson, which opens many manuscript presentations of Adam's work, the subject matter to be treated is enumerated in a way reminiscent of Aristotelian thought. This is not unprecedented, as Johannes de Grocheio wrote a late thirteenth-century discussion of secular monophony in a framework of causae that attests to permeability between Latinate and vernacular literary theory.[10] The material cause is clearly the lady, "Ma dame envoisie", the formal cause is the song, "Ma canchon", the efficient is the singer motivated by the "amourous cuer", and the final cause is "pour avoir aïe." These properties not only define the first piece, but essentially the entirety of his corpus of 36 chansons.

In the corresponding song that follows, Adam elaborates these individual pieces

[8] "Love makes so much more of an effort to grab hold of me / than she does to alleviate my pains."

[9] "And whoever doesn't dare to tackle this with a true heart / Cannot be worthy of praise / Rather he wants to trick and trap his Lady."

[10] Johannes is not explicit in the sense of delineating the causes, but Elizabeth Audrey has underlined how his framework reflects contemporary Latinate commentary formats. In the context of a selection of 12th century vernacular songs, the material cause is "delightful and difficult matter", the formal cause is "from all sorts of songs", the efficient cause is "kings and nobility", and the final cause is "to move their [the audience's] spirits to boldness." See Elizabeth Audrey, "Genre as a Determinant of Melody in the Songs of the Troubadours and the Trouvères", ed. William D. Paden, *Medieval Lyric: Genres in Historical Context* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 276.

in a sort of enumeratio, expanding each in a more reflective sense. The woman's physical and emotional qualities, of course, receive ample treatment, but claims that through the song as an object the singer can wield emotional influence, as well as provide resolution through self-expression, are revisited more critically. The fear of failure undermines the established goal of approaching the lady through song, "Mais je n'i cuit ja venir [to be helped by the lady], / Car je ne m'os enhardir / Que mon penser vous en die." (Chanson II, vv. 23-24.)[11] Yet Adam approaches the nature of composition more subtly, framing it in a classic reference to fortune, "Faus est qui trop en son cuidier se fie: / On voit aucun sour l'espoir d'enrichir / emprendre tant, dont il aprés mendie." (Chanson II, vv. 9-11).[12] An image of love tainted by exaggeration and fanciful hopes can lead the lover astray.

In a deeper sense, the writer is susceptible to the same fate. Adam fears to physically approach the object of his desire - the reticent lover displaces the realisation of amorous dialogue onto the field of control over discourse that lyrical monophony offers. The relatively more abstract quality of this relationship affords the singer a greater occasion to consider the object of desire, as well as to view his compositions and occasionally reassess them. This property is especially present in chanson XI, which begins with the appropriate "Pour coi se plaint d'Amours nus?" He returns to his previous reflections and concludes that "...ele [amours] rent assés plus / c'on ne puist par sens ataindre / ne par bel server" (Chanson XL, vv. 3-5).[13] An interconnection of loving, learning, and creating is typically recognised in 12th- and 13th-century vernacular lyric, but Adam places himself in a position to depict these processes in a piecemeal fashion that draws out his value as an experienced source. He can present the topic of love, but more importantly, he can provide a quasi-commentary that depicts a writer conscious of greater questions on the source of knowledge that his material offers.

Even when filtered through the separate and distant voice of the vocal performer,

[11] "But I don't think that I'll ever get that / Because I don't dare be so bold / That I talk to you about my thoughts."

[12] "Whoever puts much trust in his presumptions is wrong / We see many who hope to get rich / Take on so much that they end up begging."

[13] "For she returns so much more / Than we can reach by the senses / Or by simply serving well."

Adam thus endures as a recognized speaker because of his status as a knowing subject. But this property conflicts with the generalized subjective erasure that melody supposedly effects on the speech of the writer in 13th-century lyric, with traditional motifs and tropes adapted onto common musical composition. Instead, Adam's lyric appears considerably privileged against the melodic accompaniment. Internal literary analysis is not the only source for this claim: as I showed earlier, scribes were prepared to copy and disseminate Adam's works without musical accompaniment and in the context of other spoken dits. Similar features have led Michèle Gally to refer to his poetry as the "chant du cygne de la canso,"[14] a moment in highly experimental literary production where earlier standards of harmony and lyric began to reveal influence from more recently developed rhetorical theory.

Despite the possible Aristotelian features in the songs' structure, a framework that would place Adam's work within a period of transition does not necessarily constitute a claim for direct contact between composer and Latinate commentaries. Common lines of analysis are certainly found in both. To revisit a previous example, chanson XXXIII breaks the cathartic function of singing into two stages, creation and subsequent performance:

> De cuer pensieu et desirant
> Vient qui bouche muet a parler
> Car ele sert de chous moustrer
> Que cuers vait premiers devisant.[15] (vv. 1-4)

Singing does not constitute a spontaneous act of self-expression - rather, the "thoughtful" and "desiring" heart formulates meaning before delivering it. This conception of the lyricist's work integrates once again the necessity of amors into the practice of composition, for the heart is surely reflective and creative, but crucially oriented towards an object of desire. Yet it is also a motif that appears in Geoffroi de Vinsauf's

[14]Michèle Gally, "De Gace Brulé à Adam de la Halle: L'expansion du champ lyrique," *Les Chansons de la langue d'oïl: l'art des trouvères* (Valenciennes: Presses universitaires de valenciennes, 2008), 126.

[15]"With a pensive and yearning heart / my mouth is moved to speak / because it serves to show what / the heart forms first."

Poetria nova, in which he equates poetic composition to the process of designing a house:

> ...non currit ad actum impetuosa manus ...totamque figurat ante manus cordis quam corporis; et status ejus est prius archetypus quam sensilis ...Non manus ad calamum praeceps, non lingua sit ardens ad verbum.[16]

Along with evidence that troubadours in particular, along with other vernacular writers, composed verse that demonstrates at least indirect influence from the medieval *artes*,[17] Adam's verse incorporates more formative reflections on the art of composition.

The explicit conceptualization of a song's movement from creator to audience expressed in chanson XXXIII provides an insight into the authority that arises when the writer controls the presentation of hermeneutics. A song is necessarily the result of contemplation and planning, and like many texts, medieval as well as modern, a dense layering of meaning calls for some sort of exegetical support, be it commentary or a more simple gloss. As I discussed earlier, Adam can already be seen to inhabit a space simultaneously within and exterior to his own production, as many of the songs thematize the search for the desired object as a topos for a deeper conception of knowledge. This polyvalent function of the composer is consistent throughout the chansons, and it engenders a pervasive instability within the formation of figurative expression in favor of the single lyrical subject.

[16]"The impetuous hand does not rush to act ...and the hand of the mind, rather than of the body, forms the whole before; its condition is original/conceptual before it is physically perceptible ...let the hand not be rash to [take up] the quill, nor the tongue be eager to speak." My translation, Latin text quoted from Edmond Faral, *Les Arts poétiques du XIIe et du XIIIe siècle* (Paris: Librairie Ancienne Honoré Champion, 1924), 198.

[17]See Audrey, *The Music of the Troubadours*, 66.

3.2 Unstable allegory

The binary role of presenter of knowledge and dramatizer of its conception - acting as a simultaneous commentator - is perceivable in the allegorical depiction of love. In troubadour compositions, Sarah Kay has highlighted a "reorientation of allegory around the subject position,"[18] a phenomenon in which the writer actively manipulated the sensus litteralis through insertion of the subject into the lyrical narrative. In more traditional allegorical psychomachia, the "poet-performer" acting as the reliable outside narrator presents an objective scene out of which the audience or a glosser, acting as the subjective interpreter, will draw signification. During the 12th century, the relationship between allegory and the individual's world is reoriented: the figurative characters serve an additional role as quasi-doppelgangers for individuals and ideological conflicts from the world outside of the text.[19] The actions, and consequently the ethical merit, of allegorical figures function within a less rigidly prescribed semiotic framework, and literary interpretation cannot be separated from a priori knowledge of the writer. Without generalizing the reception and use of allegory within later Old French chansons, how does Adam navigate the space between these two extremes?

His chansons are replete with the struggle between the lover and his Lady, along with contemporaneous sub-currents involving a figurative Amour. Adam is certainly a lover seemingly in the service of a larger, universal Love:

> Or voi jou bien qu'il souvient
> Bonne Amour de mi
> Car plus asprement me tient
> C'ainc mis ne senti.[20](Chanson XXVI, vv. 1-4)

[18]Sarah Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 52.

[19]cf. Kay's comparison between Macabru's "realist" understanding of the Vices' storming of the Castle of Virtue versus Cercamon's "nominalist" depiction of internal vices amongst his poetic enemies, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry*, 51-53.

[20]"Now I can really see / that Love remembers me / Because she holds me more cruelly / than [what] I have felt before."

Love as a figurative agent brings many hazards that risk unsettling the happiness of her servants, such as Desire, Hope, Reverie, and Vigilance, yet "Et qui tout chou n'ose de cuer emprendre / Dignes ne puet estre d'avoir loier / Ains veut se dame engingnier et sousprendre . . . " (Chanson XXIV, vv. 10-12).[21] These passages provide a bridge connecting allegorical expression to a pre-conceived external significance relevant for the audience, in quite a similar way to Kay's research in later 12th-century Troubadour lyric. In this case, it forms the basis for ethical lessons on the hardships endured for amorous pursuits. Considering that Adam consistently evinces the expectation that his audience ought to have at the very least a cursory understanding of his own supposed personal forays into the world of love, these kinds of pronouncements become simultaneously didactic and sincere. A clear play between the two registers comes at the end of chanson XXXII:

> Pour coi me vois si dolousant?
> Trop me puis bien desconforter:
> On voit maint perdre par haster
> Che dont goïssent li souffrant;
> Et pour itant
> Atendrai, dame, vostre gré,
> Et si ne m'iert ja reprouvé
> Que de cuer serve dechevant.[22] (vv. 33-40)

Adam re-emerges as a source of knowledge, providing the material to follow any question on utilitas without need for a commentator: Love's actions have been "re-oriented" around the lover-poet and explicitly packaged with less opaque pedagogical scaffolding.

Yet contrary to the centrality of struggle that Kay identified within Troubadour lyric, allegorical psychomachia in much of Adam's work inhabits a comparatively

[21] "And whoever doesn't dare to take this on in good faith / cannot be worthy of recompense/ [because] he'd rather dupe and trap his lady."

[22] "Why am I saddened so? / I'm well capable of getting too distressed: / We see many lose by haste / What those suffering enjoy / And because of this / I shall await, my lady, your good will / And I shall never be reproached / For having served [you] with a deceitful heart."

liminal space. There seems to be a close engagement with allegory in these chansons, but it runs along the edge of allegory at best - Adam appears to be reticent to fully develop an abstract, figurative narrative. In the case of chanson XXVI, the piece begins with the depiction of the internal distress of rejection, subsequently generalized as the machinations of Love. This is essentially a performative display of the medieval connection between psychological torment and imaginative fixation, and it bears much similarity to the opening to Andreas Cappellanus' *De Amore*, "Amor est passio quaedam innata procedens ex visione et immoderata cogitatione formae alterius sexus ..." The topical treatment does not, however, endure the mimetic repositioning from symbolic discussion into Adam's external world. The depiction of Amour's character in the opening verse is ruptured at the beginning of the following section, as Adam has other concerns on his mind, "Li souvenirs me retient / Que j'ai de cheli / Dont chis jolis maus me vient"[23] (Chanson XXVI vv. 9-11). Earlier figuration is pushed away in favor of more concrete description of his Lady, as well as more immediately comprehensible portrayals of emotional suffering. This eschewal is treated in chanson XXVII, as devotion to Love is not the principal agent behind the creation of the song:

> Encor i a meilleur raison pour coi
> Je doi chanter d'amourous desirrier ...
> Sui au cuer trais et ferus
> D'uns vairs iex ses et agus.[24] (vv. 3-7)

The lover's *cogitationes* interfere with the reflective process required to bring about allegorical depiction, and even go so far as to threaten its realization. Cogitationes are, after all, not to be understood as individual thoughts, but the movements within the thought process itself: they naturally introduce instability.

This process raises a troubling dilemma in any attempt to construct a comparison between the troubadour lyric and Adam's *cansos*: is he truly working in the

[23] "The memory of she / From whom this lovely pain comes / Holds me back."

[24] "There is still a better reason for which / I must sing out of loving yearning ... I have been struck and hit in the heart / By a pair of eyes, brilliant, clear, and dazzling."

allegorical mode, albeit skirting the boundaries and interrupting the narrative with his own voice, or is he "merely" constructing a game of symbols? If it were the latter, "Amour" can be immediately received as a poetic extension of Adam's inner cogitationes, rather than an agent whose depiction and actions merit more careful scrutiny and interpretation. This opposition engages with a long and rich discussion in Western literature around the functioning of the symbol, the sign, and allegory, which is far too broad to be critically treated here. Simply posing the question testifies to an a priori modern approach to medieval literature, as Jauss abruptly stated, "Le lecteur d'aujourd'hui ne comprend plus l'allégorie."[25] Instead, he writes that modern criticism and readership practices have crafted a careful distinction between allegory and symbol, at times denigrating the former as an academic exercise. Jauss suggests an opposition more apt to medieval literary culture:

> Il faudrait donc savoir si, dans la tradition allégorique avant Guillaume de Lorris, il y a autre chose que des personnifications et surtout si l'on rencontre ce principe de la représentation allégorique qui exige la dualité: sens littéral, sens allégorique.[26]

By placing emphasis on the functioning of personifications, it is possible to circumvent semiotic criticism in favor of hermeneutics. Instead of deferring to criticism regarding the signifying function of Amour as allegory or otherwise, it is more prudent and revealing to turn to a larger consideration of Amour's ability to speak or influence the singer. In such a way it becomes possible to trace the development of Amour as a personification narratively, through a questioning of the appropriate interpretative mechanism by which the speaking figure can be established - as allegorical or literal - rather than a more fundamental suspicion over the symbolic mode.

This binary can be understood as implicitly posed by several pieces in critical

[25]Hans Robert Jauss, "La transformation de la forme allégorique entre 1180 et 1240: d'Alain de Lille à Guillaume de Lorris," *L'Humanisme médiéval dans les littératures romanes du XIIe au XIXe siècle* (Librairie C. Klincksieck : Paris, 1964), 109.

[26]Jauss, *L'humanisme médiéval*, 112.

theory. Jacques Ribard provided a clear outline of two principal types of allegory that can be identified in medieval literature, either the allegorical personification or the narrative allegory. It is in the latter, initially elucidated by Daniel Poirion, that I identify Adam's principal locus of composition. Narrative allegory inherently requires a greater level of authorial control over interpretation as the work passes to the audience, as its comparatively more open mode of signifying requires a strong lyrical subject to maintain a set form of reception.[27] When probing the functioning of speech to the point of differentiating symbolism from allegory, it is the allegorical personification, almost removed from the surrounding environment, that receives the scrutiny. On the other hand, in order to determine the exact relationship between the figuration and the reception of a work, along with the author's ability to exert an influence over the latter, the question amounts to the level of allegorical significance throughout the narrative itself. It is this distinction that I make between semiotic and hermeneutic criticism, as the latter examines a wider implication for the narrative figure's role in mediating the open space between the writer and the reader. By approaching the question of allegory in this way, two questions become principal in order to measure the symbolic depth of Amour's discourse. Does there exist an interpretative duality in Adam's allegorical characters that undermines the immediate reception of their actions? Furthermore, how can the manipulation, albeit liminal, of universalizing characters such as Amour be connected to vernacular authority?

In order to answer these two questions, I would like to begin by countering Jauss' assertion that allegorical composition is so foreign that the modern reader cannot grasp the totality of its significance. In the same vein, one could be tempted to say that a learner of a second language, after a certain age, "never really" understands the language. But this claim is far from reflective of reality - the student begins with basic paradigms, forms new connections, and given enough diligence is able to unravel novel, unmet constructions with adaptive interpretation. The blossoming

[27]Jacques Ribard, "Les Romans de Chrétien de Troyes sont-ils allégoriques?" *Cahiers de l'Association international des études françaises* 28 (1976): 8 and Daniel Poirion, *Le Roman de la Rose* (Paris: Garnier-Flammarion, 1974), 10. This condition is certainly not relevant for works that operate within this interpretive ambiguity, however I do not place Adam's corpus within this subset.

of academic interest in medieval allegory since the 1980s, especially for troubadour lyric and the *Roman de la Rose*, testifies to the existence of a similar ability amongst modern researchers, albeit not quite homologous. Along with his overall presentation of the love-quest itself, Adam as a performing subject inhabits an awkward space in relation to his personified figures such as Amour. The difficulty lies in accurately describing the function he plays in presenting the material - in a sense it is the materia Adam according to the design of the "critical edition" described by Huot - rather than pinning down a specific place in which he exits and another voice, be it of an allegorical character or an external performer, subsumes the narrative role.

The audience's knowledge of the nature of Amour within Adam's chansons is not limited to physical description and narrative development, unlike other allegorical figures such as the Dieu d'Amour from the *Roman de la Rose*. Instead Adam goes as far as to locate Amour's existence as an internal force within each lover, "Amours est volentés durans tous jours / En cuer d'amant d'amour de dame espris." (Chanson XIII vv. 11-12).[28] Moreover, while Amour's domain extends to every infatuated individual, its existence depends on the subject, "[Amours] Par resgart est commenchie / Et pour valoir poursievie." (Chanson XIII vv. 16-17).[29] While Amour is a powerful agent - "Ahi ! Amours soutiex et artilleuse, / Qui de tous justichier saves vo roi" (Chanson XVI vv. 9-10)[30] - its existence is hazy, operating at one and the same time as a universal character which can be served, but which appears to lack a subject position within Adam's works. Part of this defective expression can be attributed to the mode of composition: Adam's voice is singing of Adam's experiences; dialogue from a secondary character would upset the overarching unity between the pieces. And yet the inability for Amour to take shape as an autonomous, self-determining individual stems in a greater part from a limit set up by authorial representation. "

Amour thus emerges often throughout the chansons as an interpolated personage, yet its formation as a fully developed allegorical character is consistently undermined. At times it becomes difficult for the reader to discern the object of Adam's thoughts

[28] "Love is a drive that lasts forever / in the heart of a lover enamored by love for a lady."
[29] "Love is begun by the glance / and pursued for its worth."
[30] "Oh, crafty and cunning Love / you who know how to be in command of all."

in his game between love and the lady:

> De chanter ai volenté curieuse
> Pour une dame a cui feüté doi.
> Mais en servant me doit sanler cousteuse
> Car je le truis, et si ne sai pour coi,
> A l'escondire envers moi trop viseuse.[31] (Chanson XVI vv. 1-5)

It is only in the next stanza after a direct remark towards Amour that the audience is able to figure out that it is in fact the lady who deserves his loyalty. This reduction does not imply that Adam denigrates Amour's role or influence, as it is a universal feature that dominates all. However the character's functioning within the songs reflects a conflict between the composer and the allegory in obtaining a monopoly over asserting and defining the self. In the process of examining the earliest troubadour compositions, Stephen Nichols outlined a rather dynamic viewpoint of what is to be considered the lyric subject. The poetic subject can operate from an initial binary set of expressive positions, the didactic versus the hedonistic speaker. However, if both of these discourses are juxtaposed within a work by the same voice, it opens up the composition to a simultaneous role of treating representation - such as the scene, the matter, the conflict to be resolved - and a problematized hermeneutics of *representing*.[32]The lyric subject straddles the two levels of reflection, the first immediate and the latter self-aware, and in doing so demonstrates the instabilities of poetic expressions of subjectivity.

Adam as an expressive subject asserts himself in this position, which is consequently linked with the short-circuiting of allegorical development. I hinted earlier at this complication with the split in his narrative voice between sorrowful lover and

[31] "I have a wishful desire to sing / For a Lady to whom I owe loyalty / But by serving her she must seem to be even more precious / Because I find her, and I don't even know why, / Very skilled at refusing me."

[32] Stephen G. Nichols, Jr., "The Promise of Performance: Discourse and Desire in Early Troubadour Lyric," *The Dialectic of Discovery: Essays on the Teaching and Interpretation of Literature Presented to Lawrence E. Harvey*, French Forum Monographs 50 (Lexington: French Forum Publishers, 1984), 96.

reflective commentator. The division present in Adam's songs results in a much more slippery ontological presentation for the author than in a work such as the *Roman de la Rose* with a similar duality in place and voice. Whereas the play between Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun is - at least nominally - established around a dream vision subsequently narrated in another place, time within Adam's chansons passes on a single, unified line. Adam does not acknowledge breaks from a specific narrative or a return to an earlier point - it is a movement through his thoughts over time, complicated by the cyclical instability of praising love and lamenting his fate. The separation in time between experience and composition is markedly present for the literate audience of the *Roman*, whereas the nature of vocal performance can be seen as at least a contributing factor in the comparative absence of reflections on time by Adam.[33] The songs revolve nonetheless around a constantly shifting position between lover and teacher, which affords no stable ground for allegorical characters to achieve full development. Most importantly, these movements are unmediated as they lack overt acknowledgment by the composer. It falls to both the performer and the listener to sort out the two levels of speech - didactic and hedonistic - at each moment, and to subsequently combine them into the lyrical subject.

Yet I have highlighted this feature because it stems from a fundamental quality of lyrical deliverance. In that case, in a grid that maps authority versus lyricism, troubadour lyric as studied by Nichols and the works of Adam de la Halle ought to coincide. A concentration on the possibilities of subjective expression in lyrical discourse naturally brings together similar styles of composition in interconnected

[33]Dmitri Likhatchov treated the identification of the writer of sung lyric as both object and subject of his composition, linking this reflective association to an uncanny presence of the author who was both absent and represented. This quality is fundamental in sung lyric. "Popular lyric is distinguished in this fundamental way from written/book lyric, where the author is not only obligatory, but where he plays the very principal role as the 'lyrical hero' of the work ... The performer steps in for the place of the author. Its 'lyrical hero' is, at a certain limit, this very performer. The singer sings about himself, the listener hears about his own self. The performer and the listener (the listener in a way inwardly sings alonf with the performer and from this point of view, to a certain extent, is also its interpreter) strive to equate themselves with the lyrical hero of the popular song." My translation. Adam's duality can be seen as arising from the performer identifying with the lover-instructor and the audience with the loving sufferer. Dmitri Likhatchov, *Poetika Drevnerusskoj Literatury* (Leningrad : Khudozhestvennaya Literatura, 1987), 501-502.

literary cultures.

In order to make the search for authoritative voice within Adam's work more productive, it is fruitful to superimpose onto this grid the register on which the singer addresses his audience. To return once more to the ubiquitous *Roman de la Rose*, Douglas Kelly contrasts its manner of addressing the reader from a more typical erudite text, "The Rose is not a discursive treatise, it is the heuristic investigation of seduction."[34] For Kelly, a principal cause is the dissolution of sense amongst many voices, which together constitute a chorus of significations - thus the heuristic investigation. Any opposition by allegorical characters to Adam's voice is denied by the quality of his chansons' composition, but there is an opportunity to engage Kelly's categorization with Nichols' constitution of the lyrical subject. The chansons clearly deny discursive expression in dialogue through their performativity, and indeed is their strength in the hands of the wronged lover as the Lady, the expected respondent, is denied lyrical existence.

Unlike the graduated, one-way transition that Nichols identified within early troubadour music between the didactic and hedonistic subject, Adam's presentation fluctuates. This oscillation is another way of conceptualizing the shift from lover to teacher, albeit with terminology that allows for greater comparison with other medieval lyrical compositions. In a parallel vein to developing Latinate commentary formats in the 13th century, Adam profits from both expressive positions in an authorizing framework that privileges the contribution of the individual, which is the writer's experience. This hedonistic side is obvious through the strength of his emotional lamentations, or less commonly, romantic celebrations. Through the dramatization of the inherent instability within the lover's path, however, he provides a lyrical adaptation of didactic speech - a kind of theatrical Wheel of Fortune. Perfectly in line with Horace's conception of poetry, the chansons teach by delight rather than through recourse to intellectual contemplation. Adam has adopted an authoritative position to justify the presentation of knowledge that is very different from the more erudite, academic *Rose* as well as Nichols' analysis of representing in early troubadour performance.

[34]Douglas Kelly, *Internal Difference and Meaning*, 4.

3.3 Scribal manipulation

Although many of Adam de la Halle's works implicate performance of a very different character from Rutebeuf's lyric, they are nonetheless filled with, defined by, circumscribed by the poet's presence. Manuscript presentations generally begin with a standardized set of chansons,[35] which puts onto page the opening sic fiat lux declaration in the first piece and simultaneously brings into existence the act of composition as well as the pieces themselves, "D'amourous cuer voel canter / Pour avoir aïe." (Chanson I, vv.1-2).[36] Along with these pieces, which can be read to form a series of cycles interacting with the general Old French motif of amors amer/dous maus, Adam's motets, rondeaux, and jeux put into play the writer himself. Of course the nominative act is not a rupture with older practices. Older romance lyric did not avoid naming the writer: vidas and razos, which can be read as a reflection of scribal hermeneutics, provided an a priori authorial presence for later reception. Rather, self-reference within Adam's compositions appears to implicitly recognize, and subsequently undermine, the separation that exists between the performer and the composer.

There is evidence that this property was perceived by scribes, and even consciously reflected in their work. To return to BNF fr. 837, the Rutebeuf manuscript A, a purely lyrical Adam de la Halle exists apart from the objectifying influence of melody in one piece, the *Jeu de la feuillée*. The format, closer to that of the dit, could be due to an underlying assumption that the well-known text's accompanying musical notation was unnecessary, or even to more general aesthetic demands that constrained the scribe's choice in physical presentation. The manuscript privileges nonetheless the literary within Adam's work, rather than its connection to performance. As inconsequential as this mise en page may appear, it forms one line of several convergent qualities in this manuscript that valorize an interpretive mech-

[35]Specifically, the first four works found in Paris BNF fr. 25566 are found as the first material, in that order, in most other manuscripts containing Adam de la Halle. cf. Mark Everist, "Souspirant en terre estraigne: The Polyphonic Rondeau from Adam de la Halle to Guillaume de Machaut," *Early Music History* 26 (2007): 9.

[36]"With a loving heart I sing / As a recourse to help."

anism considering the mutual reinforcing link between a writer and the oeuvre as the point of departure for an act of interpretation, not unlike the role of the causa efficiens.

Contrary to many manuscripts, including the base manuscript for critical editions, BNF fr. 25566,[37] a scribe or annotator has imported Adam into the incipit, and presents the reader with "Le jeu Adan le boçu d'arraz".[38] This act mimics in a way the authorial frame that the same scribe placed around Rutebeuf's pieces - it is thus curious that the jeu is closed with "explicit uns geus", as in the majority of cases for this manuscript the incipit and explicit reflect each other. It must be noted that the incipit rubrication is a different hand from the explicits throughout the manuscript,[39] so this discrepancy may testify to competing readership practices throughout the manuscript's ownership history. As for the explicit, the original scribe may have intended it to serve as an exemplum in the mind of the reader as it appears to be the only case of this genre in the manuscript.

If so, the manipulations that the scribe was able to carry out on *Le Jeu de la feuillée* are all the more telling for the understanding of the jeu as a genre, let alone the status of a lyricist in the 13th century. This manuscript does not preserve the entirety of the piece, terminating it at verse 174, the end of Adam's second long exposition on the destitution he faces in Arras. This abbreviation, combined with the lack of musical notation, suggests a very different form of reception from the more "authoritative" presentation of BNF fr. 25566. In line with medieval discussions over the value of prose versus parody, Joseph Dane has based his reading of Adam's corpus on an inseparable "musical virtuosity" that occludes more subtle readings of his pieces, and which typifies the opposition of chant and dit, lyric and non-lyric that

[37]Sylvia Huot included an analysis of the Adam de la Halle section of this manuscript that is still significant today in her book *From Song to Book*, 64-75, especially given speculation on it either consisting of or descending from a 13th-century author-compiled collection.

[38]In BNF fr. 25566, the incipit is "li dis Adan", with the word "dis" crossed out and replaced with "ius" at some point. It is ended as "li jeus de la fuellie." The authorial naming found in BNF fr. 867 is only repeated in one other manuscript, The Vatican, Reg. 1490; see Adam de la Halle, *Œuvres Complètes*, 286.

[39]A significant exception to this tendency is the introduction to the Rutebeuf phrase, "Ci commencent li dit Rutebeuf."

is "basic to all Old French literature."[40]The manipulation of the Jeu de la feuillée in this manuscript appears to transcend such a field of permitted categorizations and receptions. Adam is instead a speaking subject whose unity is maintained in transmission - with the lack of rubricated names to distinguish individual speakers, the piece is transformed into a conversation between Adam and everyone else, rather than an assembly of arrageois characters. The work of the scribe skews the reception of the piece in the direction of greater monophony, bringing it in line with the content of the rest of the manuscript and simultaneously excising the satirical social commentary of the rest of the jeu. The principal material maintained is Adam, who delivers an archetypal diatribe on the dangers of love and the inevitable withering of the object of desire. If this passage is a typical jeu for the scribe, its existence does more than hint towards a type of vernacular readership increasingly concerned by the connection between meaning, value, and authorial naming.

3.4 Amorous topoi

It is thus Adam as lyrical subject that authorizes the presentation and development of certain topoi, packaged as knowledge, within his works. So far I have present two interrelated subjects as topoi for exploring the range of experience within the subject: love and the pursuit of the desired object. As Kelly has remarked, English possesses a uniquely adept vocabulary for translating the academic use of *topos* (τοπος) as either "commonplace" or "common place."[41] The former stresses the recycling tropes and images, and in this process occults the appearance of originality in literary production. Conceiving of a trop as a "common place", however, shifts the semiotic emphasis of the symbol's functioning from conformity to differentiation. Love is a common experience to all human beings, which can afford it the status of an object developed as a literary trope. Songs delivered at a northern French puys certainly

[40]"It is more likely that Adam's audience was more aware of this musical virtuosity than of verbal subtleties." Joseph A. Dane, "Parody and Satire in the Literature of Thirteenth-Century Arras, Part I," *Studies in Philology* 81.1 (1984): 5-6 and 20.

[41]See Douglas Kelly, *The Subtle Shapes of Invention*, 6-7.

included musings on love as a common topic, but composition within this field does not preclude insight. Topical invention is, in fact, one of many authorizing practices available to the 13th-century writer, beyond recourse to established references to pre-defined authorities. This is not to say that there is a simple relationship between "originality" and "authority" in 13th-century vernacular works, as the play between repetition and innovation was (and still is) a subtle practice that was not received in all genres, by all writers, or even across the 12th and 13th centuries in the same way. Originality is neither a desideratum nor a proper gauge for establishing the presence of authority, and I do not intend to present Adam as a unique genius outpacing the rest of his contemporaries. Rather, it is through the ways in which topoi can be defined within these vernacular works that marks an authorized writer. Adam mediates the questions of love and the search for the object of desire with a narrative figure that undermines all other voices. It is this empowering authorial function, running throughout his chansons and uniting them in an interpretative mechanism just as strong as the binding of their manuscripts, that allows him to pronounce "D'amourous cuer voel canter."

Epilogue

I have taken the time at several points throughout this text to position my work on Adam de la Halle and Rutebeuf by referencing trends in scholarship on the *Roman de la Rose* in the last 20 years. This is not a simple rhetorical technique to contextualize my methdology and approach. Following the *Rose*, vernacular poetry - as well as prose - is often grouped by scholars into a separate category that shares more narrative and discursive properties with each other than they do with pre-*Rose* compositions. This division is perpetuated despite worrying literary and historical factors: why should the *Rose* be a text that simultaneously demonstrates and founds a new literary culture if Jean de Meun, who lived during roughly the same span of the 13th century as Rutebeuf and Adam de la Halle, and Jean Gerson's productive periods are separated by more than half a century? A critical and often cited hinge is the author's (expressed and unexpressed) relationship to his work, which I have tried to elucidate in the case of my chosen writers by probing the relationship between authoritative expression and the realization of discourse.

By tracing the function of authorial voice within the writers' works, as well as scribal and editorial manipulations of their texts, I have placed an implicit symbolic privilege on the act of naming. As I demonstrated earlier, the two manuscripts that contain the largest number of Rutebeuf works group them into a unified section, and one specifically denotes the opening and closing of a quasi-booklet dedicated to Rutebeuf. In the case of Adam de la Halle, the celebrated manuscript used for critical editions, Paris BNF fr. 25566, includes what is considered an apocryphal text about his life and death - the *Chançons d'Adans* - and Paris BNF fr. 837 contains a transformation of the *Jeu de la Feuillée* into the *Jeu Adan le boçu d'Arraz*, both acts

introducing an exegetical bias that links the name to literary interpretation.Although I earlier circumvented the approaches in modern critical theory to discussing symbolic speech in Chapter 3, the functioning of the writer's name falls in line with Hugh of Saint Victor's definition of the symbol, "Supra jam diximus quid sit symbolum, collatio vidilicet, id est coaptatio visibilum formarum ad demonstrationem rei invisibilis propositarum."[42] The author as an external subject effects a certain amount of control over the piece: not, in this case, through his position as the physical writer of the text, but through the continued presence of his name and voice.

The two visible forms, the dit and the name contained within, establish as an invisible literary object the manipulated authorial figure, which predetermines certain interpretations for the reader. In fact, the ability of this link - between the name and the work - to signify and provide seeds for nuanced readings is reminiscent of rabbinical semiotic approaches to word formation. Like Latin and Greek characters, numbers are assigned to Hebrew letters - an important figure was 26, the number of the Tetragrammaton (יהוה). Individual letters themselves can be taken apart into constituent components - aleph (א), for example, can be understood as two yods (י) and two vavs (ו) whose values add up to the 26 of the name of God. This leads to a particularly illuminating implication for the word for fire (אֵשׁ), which does not only signify the flame: it incarnates the name of God (א) that emanated from the burning bush.[43] As a parallel to this exegetical practice, Rutebeuf provided his audience with his own derivative etymology, "Por moi, qui ai non Rutebeuf / Qui est dit de rude et de buef . . . "[44] The significance of Rutebeuf's name is more than an assembly of literary impressions taken from assembled works - as a symbol, its own constituent parts already point towards an ironic authorial figure.

By approaching the name in such a fashion, I have in fact described with homologous vocabulary a quality of Foucault's described author function insofar as

[42]"Above we said what the symbol is: a comparison, it is a joining together of visible forms that is proposed in order to demonstrate an invisible thing." Hugh of Saint Victor, "Expositio in Hierarchiam Coelestem S. Dionysii Liber Tertius," *Patrologia Latina*, 175.960D.

[43]Nicolas Marin Boon, *Au Cœur de l'écriture: Méditations d'un prêtre catholique*, ed. Monique André-Gillois (Paris: Dervy-Livres, 1987), 17.

[44]"For me, whose name is Rutebeuf / Which comes from 'rough' and 'cow' . . . "

it runs along and shapes discourse. Authority, in the sense that I have employed it, affords the writer two privileges, one literary and the other epistemological: it simultaneously renders the writings useful and citable (particularly in pieces) *a priori* and legitimizes the speech *per se*. The question I have attempted to answer in this work was whether a form of vernacular *auctoritas* was able to be thought of in this period of Old French literature and what kind of discursive features defined it. Surviving manuscripts from the 13th and early 14th century suggest acts of literary canonization for Adam de la Halle and Rutebeuf,[45] but this is only material evidence that possibly confirms the first half of my study. An additional, underlying feature stemming from current research into medieval vernacular composition threatens to trouble the second. Mainly, given that 13th-century scribes often included the biographical vidas and interpretive razos with troubadour songs, and if concurrent literary practices afforded my chosen writers a kind of authority over their works, why were Rutebeuf and Adam de la Halle so comparatively short-changed out of their own commentaries?

A return to research on commentary formats appears to provide a resolution to this fundamental difference. The trends that have been identified in 13th-century Latinate discussions around the author are important criteria for judging the conceptions of authorship in the intersecting culture between Adam de la Halle and Rutebeuf's backgrounds and the groups guaranteeing the transmission of their works. Passages that treated the writer as a speaking authority - and that discussed the relationship between ethics, theology, and poetry - hint to common inter-literary practices between Latin and the vernacular. As I highlighted in Chapter 1, the confrontation of Christian hermeneutics - which traditionally treated with contempt any poetic sententia that provided no theological or moral lessons for the reader - with newer 12th-century commentary formats legitimized the ethice supponitur category, and opened a space for a wider range of uses for vernacular lyricism. But this evidence does not implicate completely overlapping discourses. As I mentioned earlier, there was a marked lack of commentaries in Old French on Old French texts in this

[45]Adam de la Halle manuscript W, Paris BNF fr. 25566 and Rutebeuf manucript B, Paris BNF fr. 1593, respectively.

period, despite the greater production of manuscripts in the vernacular.[46] This factor proves to be critical, as the paucity of exegetical frameworks strengthened the position of the author function.

This observation seems to be a paradox at first glance: if authorial expression within a work is so strong to be perceptible by readers, if an author function or the homologous symbolic function I described indeed shaped discourse in a way that the name affected sense, where are the "authorial" editions and careful commentaries? Clearly, though, explicit interpretive practices are limiting for the reader.[47] In general, once accompanied by a commentary, a text can be viewed as "hermeneutically sealed,"[48] whereas most of the manuscripts containing the texts I examined are miscellanies lacking more than the most basic scribal interventions. This format is important in assessing the ability of the writer to manipulate reception and treatment of his work as it filters down the lines of transmission to the end-reader.[49] Considered outside of our native print culture that benefits from widely-available, cheaply printed material and production methods, the miscellany need not imply a devaluation of the author in favor of thematic organization that such a format may imply today. Miscellanies can help reflect meanings ascribed to a text - as Nichols has put it, the plurality of the literary canon before the invention of a "national literature" turned the writer into an object akin to a palimpsest that could be written over. In this case, mouvance intervenes not in the evident case of lexical and textual

[46]Hobbins, *Authorship and Publicity*, 9.

[47]Even though they simultaneously open up spaces for new discourse, such as the ethical employment of Rutebeuf I explored in Manuscript G.

[48]With regards to my argument on the lack of commentaries in Old French text, it could easily be remarked , as Minnis did, that "once the discourses move from Latin into the vernaculars, other interpretive communities have to want them and pay for them," see Minnis, *Translations of Authority*, 17-22. The possibility that scribes neglected to graft commentaries onto Rutebeuf and Adam de la Halle's works because of a lack of interest or financial impetus is real - however, I am interested in the discursive effects this vacuum allowed.

[49]It could be argued that proof would be required to establish that the writers were aware of the form of transmission and how it would be organized within manuscripts, which certainly is a fruitful area of future research. There is some more immediate evidence to support this, as Rutebeuf's opening to *La Vie de Sainte Elyzabel* strongly resembles prologue formats - perhaps assuming absent scribal comments? - and Adam de la Halle may have intervened in the production of a manuscript. For the latter, see *Huot, From Song to Book*, 12-14.

divergence amongst copies as successive generations drift father from their exemplar, but in the reception and employment of a work itself.[50]

Despite the divergence in layouts, the variance between manuscripts that characterizes the works of Adam and Rutebeuf does not imply a weak assertion of authorial control - it is rather the existence of an œuvre as we conceive of it that is challenged. Following medieval practices, it does not seem so important that an author's pieces circulate in any one group. The ascribed author is instead the uniting feature amongst the texts, even scattered across manuscripts, rather than some "œuvre function." Through the force of this subject's presence over the work, pieces can be taken out and used for more immediate needs; they require no codicological relation to each other. Such a relationship between pieces entails a lack of immediate coherent sense between pieces, which rather than being connected to each other through an interpretive framework, are more like a series of nodes referring back to their source. It is this kind of system that allows the explosion of an œuvre into parts.

The epistemologically appropriative act of naming in this case thus organizes poetic discourse around the creative character, rather than themes, tropes, or individual topoi. This structure of course does not imply any kind of certainty with regards to hermeneutics. On one hand, scribes are free to select works - and even individual verses - that suit their needs and interests. Kay has discussed the existence of several common tropes within troubadour poetry such as irony, hyperbole, and metaphor, but as she wrote, "...I use these ...with a view to showing how they make meaning elusive, subject to slipping, and resistant to univocal reading."[51] Like these terms, the existence of a "Rutebeuf" or "Adam" as a common element can undermine attempts to define meaning. As I discussed in Chapter 2, Rutebeuf's ironic self-treatment plays between didactic and hedonistic registers, creating the position of a third-voice - the reader - who must weigh this interaction and assess its implications for determining sense. Adam de la Halle's similar vacillation between teacher and lover introduces a fundamental instability with regards to the speaker's subject position - is he aware of his authority and slyly eluding any acknowledgment, or is the singer unable to

[50]Nichols and Wenzel, *The Whole Book*, 47.
[51]Kay, *Subjectivity in Troubadour Poetry*, 17.

construct stable discourse? Like Kay's comments on the works of troubadours, even the ironic reading can be uncertain.[52]

Despite the unstable meaning throughout these poetic works, the presence of the writer endures. Just as the image of the Lady haunts the tormented lover's mind, the poet's identifying voice is projected across manuscripts and performances through time. The writer becomes a kind of fantasme for the reader, as Agamben wrote:

> . . . les objets sensibles impriment leur forme dans les sens; cette impression sensible ou image ou fantasme . . . est ensuite recue par l'imagination . . . qui la conserve meme en l'absence de l'objet qui l'a produite.[53]

This image is imprinted onto the heart, at which point the gazing lover's cogitationes are essentially trapped in a positive feedback cycle between the mind's imagination and the heart's desire. In a certain way Rutebeuf and Adam de la Halle have entranced modern research, and much of this fascination due to the complex interpretive matrix traced by their authorial presence and the formation of sense within their works. How much is biographical, which parts are ironic? I have strove to elucidate the general mechanism behind this uncertainty, rather than take up the impossible task of offering any definitive response to the question itself.

Certainly more research is required to establish firmer connections between concurrent Latin commentary practices and vernacular poetic composition, which has only been explored in greater depth in the case of authors in the following century.[54] The distance currently seen between these 13th-century writers and their more literary and visually represented successors has also lured many scholars into studying the nature of literary subjectivity in this period. They have all been connected at times in a path of "evolution" to greater conscious manipulations of authorial per-

[52]Kay, *Subjectivity*, 20.

[53]Giorgio Agamben, *Stanze: Parole et fantasme dans la culture occidentale* (Paris: Payot, 1994), 118.

[54]The chief question is, did they mainly graft on Latinate practices in a conscious attempt to display a connection with an educated milieu, or is it truly the result of interconnected cultural practices? This would require a much larger work dedicated to this question considering a greater variety of writers from this period, of which I can find no example.

sonae. Rutebeuf has been called the precursor to the Romantic poet, and according to much more recent work by Michèle Gally, Adam wrote the "swan song" of the vernacular canso and inaugurated a new period of lyrical identity. Perhaps a change in lexicon is required: by using vocabulary of their own time, would it be possible to identify their role?

In Chapter 2 Bourgain's list of common vocabulary used by medieval writers in Latin was a powerful tool in opening up Rutebeuf's self-manipulation, but it would be difficult to apply this to Adam's mode of composition. The best resource appears to come from Bonaventure, "Aliquis scribit et sua aliena, sed sua tamquam principalia, aliena tamquam annexa ad confirmationem: et talis debet dici auctor." Rutebeuf carried out a few well-known translations, including *Sainte Elyzabel*, the *Dit d'Aristote*, and *La Vie de Sainte Marie L'Egyptienne*, but the hagiographic works in particular introduce scenes of sincere lyricism - typical of many of his dits - that were absent from popular Latin versions. Adam of course worked within an artistic circle and tradition that was far from his invention - yet his manipulation of voice and allegory are singular markers of the primacy of his speech. *Sed sua tamquam principalia*: these two writers, I believe, can truly be called auctores.

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